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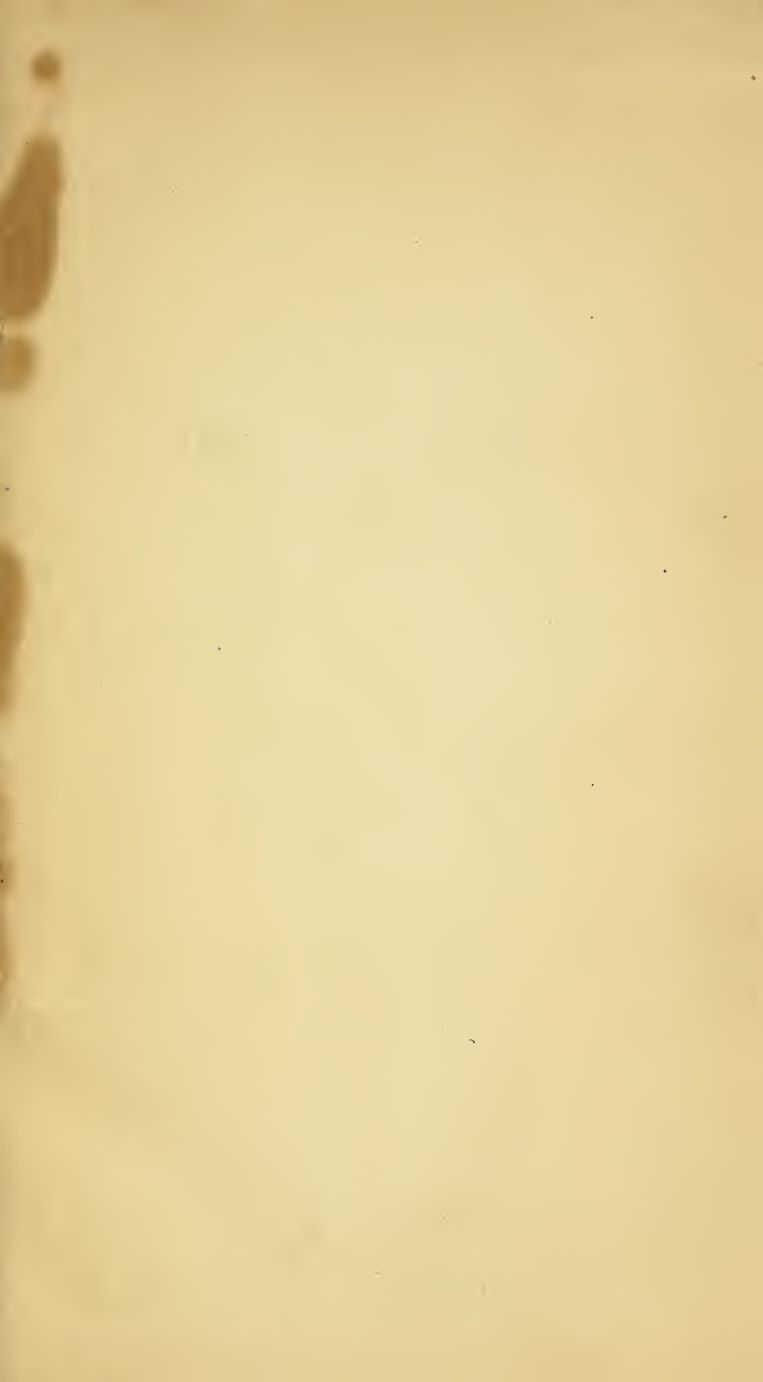
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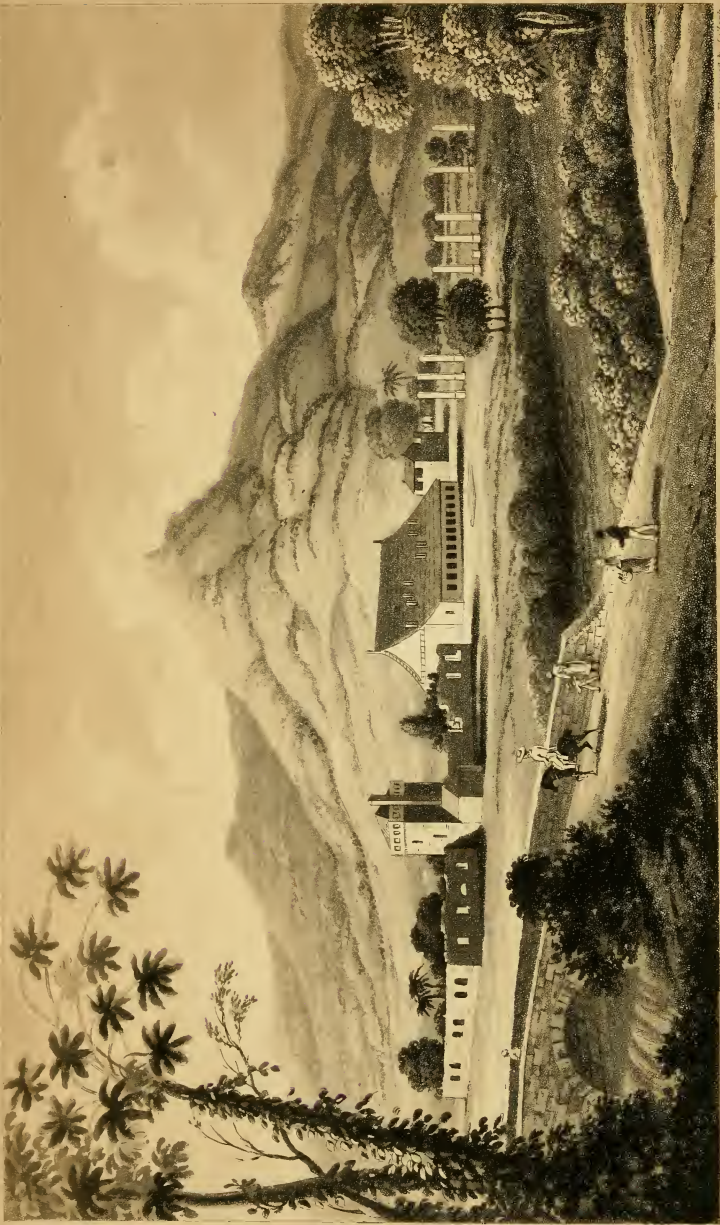
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NOTES ON HAITI,

MADE DURING A RESIDENCE
IN THAT REPUBLIC.

BY

CHARLES MACKENZIE, Esq. F.R.S. F.L.S.

LATE HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL IN HAITI,
AND NOW HIS MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONER OF ARBITRATION
IN THE HAVANNA, &c. &c.

Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis quod tu, jubet alter.

HORAT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO
JAMES COWLES PRICHARD,

M. D. F. R. S.

&c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR PRICHARD,

I inscribe these two small Volumes to you, first to gratify my personal affections, and, secondly, to associate my name with that of a man whose profound research and accuracy of thought give him a high rank in the literature of the world.

The largest portion of both our lives has passed away since it was my pride

to be considered your friend ; and it is now a subject of gratification, that neither separation nor diversity of pursuit has impaired our original feelings.

Allow me, therefore, to avail myself of the first public opportunity I have ever had of subscribing myself

Your truly affectionate Friend,

C. M.

LONDON, APRIL 1830.

PREFACE.

IN laying before the public notes originally made for my private use, it is necessary to offer a few explanatory remarks, lest I should be charged with attaching undue importance to them.

On my going to Haiti in 1826, in addition to mere consular duties, others of a higher order were assigned to me ; and among these I was required to report on the state of society, and the actual condition of the new republic in all its relations : this was a task no less invidious than difficult ; but I performed it with zeal and to the best of my ability, utterly regardless of any consideration beyond the faithful discharge

of my public duty. I was, however, fully aware that imperfection was inseparable from such an undertaking, under the circumstances in which I was placed ; I therefore pointed out the difficulty of acquiring accurate information, and reserved to myself the right of future correction, whenever inaccuracy should be detected. This right I repeatedly exercised, and I have the gratification of knowing that my exertions were fully appreciated by His Majesty's government: the manner too in which their approbation was conveyed to me by the late Mr. Canning, was equally flattering to me as a private individual and as a public officer. Proud of such a testimonial, and conscious of having faithfully discharged the trust reposed in me, I returned to Europe on the termination of my most important duties, without any design of appearing at the bar of public criticism.

Immediately, however, after my arrival in town, I learned, for the first time, that proceedings were in progress before the Privy Council on the subject of compulsory manu-

mission, and that in the course of these, one of my dispatches had been produced as evidence by the opponents of that measure. I was further informed that the learned counsel on the other side had indulged in a strain of misrepresentation as little creditable to his taste as to his acuteness.

Very shortly afterwards the House of Commons ordered my reports to be laid on their table, which was done early in the ensuing session, and they were printed in the month of May, 1829. So soon as this was done, I felt that it became a duty to draw up (as far as would be consistent with the confidential character in which I stood) some account of the manner in which I had been enabled to obtain the information of which a summary had been printed, and for that purpose I entered into arrangements with my publishers.

This step was taken after mature deliberation; but had I ever entertained a doubt of its expediency, that doubt would have been removed by a number of the Anti-slavery Reporter

which was put, about the beginning of the present year, into my hands by a friend wholly unconnected with the West Indies. This gentleman had been struck with the coarse vulgarity and the impudent falsity with which I was assailed. I also felt these as strongly as he did ; but on examination I was still more impressed with the dishonest style of criticism, with the flagrant misrepresentations of facts, with the garbled quotations, and above all, with the jumbling together statements made at different periods, with those which they were intended to correct, as parts of the same document. It is not my intention to engage in controversy with this person, and my reasons are powerful.

In the first place, the imputations he has cast upon me do not alter facts, and I am sure that all impartial people will see in them much passion, but little reason ; and will also be convinced that “ they disgrace only those who utter them, and show only what it is that they who are capable of imputing base motives to others, would themselves be, if they were in

official situations.”* In the second place, a contest is on such unequal terms between a known and responsible person and an anonymous assailant, as to warrant any man to decline it. And lastly, as I am not a partisan, I will afford no ground for my being so represented by the warmth into which I might be betrayed in repelling ungentlemanly impertinence.

I have discharged my duty to my government, and I now discharge a duty to myself, by showing that I had access to information beyond most other Englishmen, and that I made an honest use of it by stating facts, without reference to the pleasure or displeasure of any party. But even were I disposed to enter the lists of controversy, there are circumstances connected with the present case, that would effectually preclude me from taking the field.

When I first read the paper in question, pity and contempt were alternately called forth; for

* Mr. Canning in reply to Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Coke.

the coarseness of the *manner*, and the dishonesty of the *matter*, led me to ascribe it to some ignorant but unprincipled man, reckless of character from being unacquainted with its value, who had been hired to *make out a case* against me, because my reports were considered to militate against the dogmas of his principals: but my feeling has been one of unmitigated contempt, since I find it universally attributed to one individual—an individual so identified with sordid mendacity, as to render either victory or defeat in any contest with him, equally discreditable. But were this consideration not all-powerful, in my humble opinion no advantage can accrue from the most perfect exposure that can be made; since it is hopeless to expect to convince those who give credence to *such an oracle*; and it is no less hopeless to look for the conversion of a skulking libeller, whose self-gratulations, amid profound contempt, prove his superiority to all sense of shame:

———— Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo

Ipsæ domi.

Refutation on refutation would be perfectly unavailing, for

You break his web of sophistry in vain :

The creature's at his *dirty work* again.

To those who take any interest in the truth, a careful reading of my reports and of these volumes, will furnish my best vindication from the charge of interested misrepresentation. My statements may be faulty ; but I give them as the best I could command. My inferences may be wrong ; but until their logical inaccuracy be made evident, I must consider them valid, for they were not hastily nor rashly deduced.

In the present work, I have endeavoured, in the first place, to show that my relation is founded on actual inquiry and research ; and in the next, to trace the leading features of the origin and progress of a very curious experiment in the history of man : nor do I hesitate to avow that, by that examination, I have been convinced that the experience of nearly six thousand years has a living confirmation in

Haiti. Nations as well as individuals can acquire maturity only by imperceptible degrees ; and every step taken, to be effectual, must be in accordance with the peculiar character of the people to be improved. Haiti is in its infancy ; and the population, formed out of discordant materials, is precisely in the state that might be anticipated by any one at all conversant with the history of mankind. The difficulties incident to such a stage of national existence constantly present themselves to those engaged in the maintenance of its government, and in the promotion of the arts of life. These difficulties have been long ago forcibly stated by one whose vigour of diction is only rivalled by the extent and variety of his knowledge. “ It may be safely assumed,” says Mr. Brougham, “ on general principles, that a multitude collected at random from various savage nations, and habituated to no subordination but that of domestic slavery, are totally unfit for uniting in the relations of regular government, or being moulded into a system of

artificial society; more especially after living for a series of years in a state of tumult and disorder, unnatural even to barbarians." He shortly afterwards adds, "In fact, the sudden formation of a political body has always been found the most arduous achievement in the art of government."

What the future progress of the new republic may be, is a point that I do not attempt to discuss—my business being to represent the existing facts, not to engage in conjectural inquiries.

The first volume is devoted to an account of the journey made in pursuit of information; and the second to a summary of the principal matters of interest, accompanied by such documents as may be illustrative of particular points. In my historical sketch, Baron Lacroix's work, and the *Histoire d'Haiti* by Justin, have been my principal guides; but the statements that I make have been corroborated by actual researches in the Republic. I also derived considerable assistance from a large body of Chris-

tophe's papers, among which there is some curious correspondence, which, if my leisure permit, may hereafter be made public. To those individuals, whom for obvious reasons I do not name, but to whom I am indebted for much invaluable information, I take this opportunity of conveying my grateful acknowledgements. I may further add, to the candid and dispassionate, that these sheets have passed through the press while I have been making preparations for a long voyage, and a protracted residence abroad.

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MAP OF HAYTI OR S. DOMINGO



74° Longitude West from Greenwich

73°

72°

71°

70°

69°

NOTES ON HAITI.

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HIS MAJESTY having been graciously pleased to appoint me his Consul General in Haiti, I embarked at Portsmouth on the 28th March, 1826, in His Majesty's frigate *Druid*, commanded by my valued friend Capt. Samuel Chambers, having as fellow-passengers, (besides the gentlemen that accompanied myself,) Dr. Coleridge, the Bishop of Barbadoes and his family, Major General Sir Patrick Ross, the Governor of Antigua and the officers of his personal staff. We sailed on the day of embarka-

tion, and after having visited the Island of Madeira, the natural beauties of which, as well as the unbounded hospitality of the inhabitants of Funchal, are well known to almost every person that has traversed the Atlantic, and having landed the friends (to whom we owed the obligation of rendering most agreeable that which is in itself—a sea voyage—perfectly detestable) at Barbadoes and Antigua, we arrived, on the evening of the 24th May, at the anchorage of Port-au-Prince. We approached by the northern passage, called St. Mark's Channel, and as several hours elapsed after having been fairly abreast of the Island of Gonave, before we anchored, there was abundant leisure for examining with glasses the appearance of the coast from Arcahai to the capital. The country is composed of a beautiful undulating surface, bounded by a magnificent outline of mountain, the whole completely covered with wood. We looked in vain for even a solitary fishing-boat; but no evidence of human existence presented itself, except one or two small groupes of people on the beach, (probably attracted by the appearance of a large frigate,) and a few buildings in a state of absolute ruin, which from their appearance might have been formerly the residence of opulent proprietors.

We approached the city with not sufficient day-light to see more than mere traces, which blending with the mountain back-ground, had a fine effect. Almost at the moment of reaching the anchoring ground a salute was fired from the two forts in the rear of the city, which was by some of our company considered to be in honour of our flag ; but the real solution was that it is customary to salute at sun-set on the day preceding any great festival, and this was the eve of Corpus Christi, one of the most honoured of the Catholic Church. Early in the morning I announced my arrival to the Secretary General Inginac ; but, as the whole of the authorities were engaged in the religious processions, I did not land. In the course of the afternoon an officer came off from General Inginac, to invite me to visit him the following day, which was done, and an appointment made for an interview with the President at two o'clock on the 26th. At the appointed time, accompanied by Captain Chambers, and one of the gentlemen who went out with me, I landed at a miserable wooden pier, where we found the officer, who had visited us, waiting with a carriage that had been provided by the Government. In this we proceeded to the "Palais du Gouvernement," formerly the residence of the French governor general. Some

delay occurred in reaching our destination, owing to the circuitous route the carriage was obliged to take, on account of the impassable state of the leading streets, which are generally torn up in the middle by the rush of the tropical rains; and the only mode of repair is to fill up the cavities with any refuse that can be procured, which of course is washed out by the first recurrence of them.

We however reached the palace in safety: before it we passed a cenotaph, in which the remains of the late President Petion and his eldest daughter repose, and on the opposite side is a wooden platform with steps, called "L'autel de la Patrie," from which on certain occasions the president harangues the troops and the citizens. A mountain cabbage-tree, (*Palma nobilis*) the tree of liberty in Haiti, grows near it. The palace is a large building, with a handsome flight of steps leading into good reception-rooms, where we were met by the secretary-general and some of the president's aides-de-camp. The former introduced us to his excellency, (for so the president is exclusively designated,) and our reception was polite, if not gracious. The president, a little intelligent-looking man, with very keen black eyes, which he whirls about with extraordinary rapidity, showed that his

manners had been formed on a good French model. Our interview was short, as I had merely to state the objects of my visit, which I did with as little circumlocution as possible. We then retired to the "Hotel de la Monnaie," which had been considerably provided for us by the president, as neither house nor lodging was to be hired on the spur of the moment.

The indispensable objects of attention, that occupy every new comer in all countries, having been as speedily disposed of as possible, I applied myself with diligence to the acquisition of information on every topic of interest, and to the performance of those duties which had been committed to my charge. In the execution of this two-fold task, I was engaged until the month of February 1827, when I commenced more extended examination of the island. The general result of those inquiries I shall now give, before attempting to detail my observations in other districts.

The city of Port-au-Prince was first built in the year 1749, since which, with some few intervals, it has been the capital of French St. Domingo, and is now the capital of the whole island. The first view that we had of it, in an imperfect light, was pleasing; but the broad glare of the sun removed the delusion, and ex-

hibited a town irregularly built, though the streets are laid out with great precision, traversing each other at nearly right angles, the longest passing from north to south. The whiteness of those parts of rock which are exposed in the immediate neighbourhood, produces an unpleasant glare; and, in spite of Moreau St. Mery's denial of the resemblance to a Tartar camp, I cannot help thinking that the expression is by no means inapt. The most striking feature in the neighbourhood of Port-au-Prince, when looked upon from the harbour, is the total absence of all visible cultivation—the eye being only relieved from the monotony of rank wild vegetation, by a few neat-looking cottages that are scattered over the hills close to the city, and which are the residences chiefly of foreign merchants. Among these the “Habitation Lator” (which is of higher pretensions) makes a very handsome appearance. It was formerly the property of an opulent Frenchman, and now belongs to the only surviving daughter of the late President Petion, and is occasionally the residence of the family of the present president.

The city is partially fortified landward, and is commanded in the rear by “Forts Belair and Alexandre,” the last so named in honour of Petion; and the harbour is protected by a battery

on a small island, at a very short distance from the shore. Immediately behind the palace is the "Champ de Mars," where the troops are drilled, and where inspections take place every Sunday.

The buildings being chiefly of wood, and seldom exceeding two stories in height, have a paltry appearance. This style of house was adopted by the French in consequence of frequent earthquakes, which were found to overthrow more substantial edifices. There are no public buildings of any importance, except the palace. The arsenal (which was burnt during my stay), the prison, the church, the mint, the courts, the Lyceum, and the military hospital, are all insignificant in appearance. But with almost all of these is associated some scene of bloodshed, which is quite sickening. It was in the front of the church that Colonel Mauduit, alternately the idol and the object of detestation of the populace, was basely murdered by his own regiment (that of Port-au-Prince), and his miserable corpse torn to pieces by the infuriated rabble. And in the opposite direction is the burying-ground, in which his faithful slave deposited his reeking remains, and then stretching himself on the grave, blew out his own brains.

I was also shewn the house in which was perpetrated one of those remorseless acts of bruta-

lity, that so pre-eminently distinguished that monster Dessalines. A person now dead, of mixed blood, was suspected of having admitted his claims to Haitian citizenship, (which was determined by the complexion,) not from any pride in the fact, but from motives of temporary convenience, and the test to which he was exposed was most atrocious. He was on terms of great intimacy with a European Frenchman, of the name of Fouchér, in fact living in the same house in habits of daily and familiar intercourse with him. To prove his claims to Haitian citizenship, he was taken by a party of Dessalines' aides-de-camp, and compelled to poignard his unhappy friend. General Lacroix, in his very able History of the Revolution of St. Domingo, mentions the fact, which I could scarcely credit until it was confirmed by an individual who was actually in the house when the deed of horror was perpetrated. His version of the anecdote differed from that of the general, in ascribing horror and repugnance to the involuntary murderer. I would willingly hope that this is true.

There are three principal roads that lead out of Port-au-Prince—one to the north, which branches off to St. Mark's and to Mirebalais; another to the east, leading to Fort Jacques; and a third, that goes to the south and west,

leading to Leogane. On the first of these are the scenes of two important events in Haitian history, the Pont Rouge, where Dessalines was shot from an ambushade, formed by his own troops, and Cibert, where Christophe gained a signal victory over Petion. In the direction of Mirebalais is the hamlet of Croix des Bouquets, celebrated as the place at which the first convention, in 1791, was entered into between the white and coloured population. On the Leogane road, close to the entrance into the city, there was formerly a block house, and further on, upon an eminence, stands the Fort Bizotton, which was carried by our troops in 1793, in a night assault. The whole of these roads are in bad order, from being composed of stiff clay without any stones, although there is abundance of rock at hand ; they are in wet weather nearly impracticable, as a horse sinks at every step fetlock-deep, and the slipperiness of the mud renders even the slowest motion hazardous. On such roads carriages are of little use, and a few waggons, not unlike those used in Spain and Portugal, drawn by oxen, are almost the only vehicles seen. Asses and horses are the usual beasts of burthen, and almost every person keeps a riding horse.

Port-au-Prince is the seat of the republican

government, and is the principal post of an "Arrondissement," under the peculiar protection of the president, who strictly vindicates his claim to his official designation by interfering with every thing. The effective service under him is carried on by different departments. The secretary-general, Inginac, unites in his own person the offices of secretary at war, of foreign and home minister. Among his other duties he promulgates the orders of the president, and such laws as have received his sanction; and he also countersigns certain documents. I believe a secretary-general existed under the colonial system. The minister of finance, designated "Secrétaire d'état des finances," M. Imbert, and the treasurer-general, M. Nau, arrange all fiscal matters; while the "Grand Juge," who, strange to relate, is a military man, presides in the supreme court of justice, and exercises jurisdiction over all the inferior courts and law officers. There are at Port-au-Prince, besides the court already named, one of cassation, another for civil and criminal cases in the first instance, and a "juge de paix" court for minor matters of all kinds. A tribunal of commerce was talked of, but I know not whether it has been yet constituted.

The city, as well as Fort Bizotton, is garri-

soned by regular troops, and there are various military posts both within and without. At most of them the strange exhibition is made of chairs or seats for the sentries on duty, and hammocks for the remainder of the guard. The first place at which I remarked this singular arrangement was in the front of the president's palace. At the outlet to Leogane, I have repeatedly seen the centinel squatting on the ground, holding his musket between his knees. From this singularly elegant attitude he is scarcely ever roused, except by the clattering of horses' hoofs, moving faster than is meet in the presence of a Haitian post. He then starts up, growling the awful words "au pas!" so familiar to all trotting delinquents. There is also an adequate stimulus to move him, in the prospective confiscation of the plantains, yams, or fruit, of any unhappy wight, who, in contravention of the "code rural," strays to the market on forbidden days.

The police is military, forming a particular regiment; and, from having lived above two months nearly opposite to the juge de paix, I can aver that they have abundant employment, which they perform with the usual delicacy of their profession. The delinquents were chiefly offenders of both sexes against the code

rural—persons in fact who preferred dancing all night, and drinking tafia, to the labour prescribed by that law. In some classes of offence, I am sorry to say that they are either not so diligent or successful. An out-building, attached to my cottage in the country, was broken open when I was at dinner, and some money in a writing-desk, and a few articles of dress belonging to one of my servants, were stolen. The fact was discovered certainly within an hour, and immediately communicated to the police, and a reward of one hundred dollars offered. The inquiry however failed; though some time afterwards the desk was found broken open in a wood adjoining my premises. It is however to the credit of the population, that no other robberies took place at my house, as its small size and the heat of the climate obliged us all to sleep with open doors and windows. The police is said to be much improved since Petion's time, when the most barefaced robberies were committed.

The principal market-day is Saturday; but there are daily markets throughout the week for certain articles. The supply of beef, mutton, and fowls, is very tolerable; that of fish uncertain; and what is singular enough, although turtle abound in the bay, they are rarely met

with for sale. 'There is also a respectable supply not only of tropical vegetables and fruit, but of some European kinds, which are raised by some natives, and by some of the American settlers, who have received grants of land from the government. Peaches, not of a good sort, and apples come from the mountains near Fort Jacques ; and I have in my possession some exceedingly fine cloves, bought in the market of Port-au-Prince, which had been grown at Jeremie. The mere necessities of Haitian life are reasonable in price ; but whatever approaches to luxury is extravagantly dear. House-rent, at least to every foreigner, is very high. I was asked for an unfurnished house, without either kitchen or stable, four thousand dollars a-year. Of course I did not take it, but hired a small cottage out of town. For my office in town I was obliged to pay fifteen hundred dollars a-year. Water is well supplied by several fountains, which are fed from the neighbouring heights, through channels constructed by the French.

Port-au-Prince was formerly celebrated for its theatre and public amusements. There was nothing of the kind when I was there.

Situated as this city is, at the bottom of a very deep bay, and nearly surrounded by marshy

ground, under a burning sun, it is eminently unhealthy, and its insalubrity is not a little increased by the interruption that the sea-breeze, so appropriately called the Doctor in most tropical countries, meets with in its progress from the Island of Gonave, which will be seen by a reference to the map, blocks up the entrance to the bay. During the months of May, June, July, August, and September, the heat is most intense; for a considerable time my thermometer reached 99° every day in the shade.* The consequence of these concurrent causes is mortal disease among new comers. Within a month after my arrival my principal servant died of yellow fever; within three months one of the acting vice-consuls fell a victim to the climate, and every other individual of my family, including servants, (one of whom was a native of La Guayra,) were most seriously, if not dangerously, ill. The chief sufferers, in general, are to be found among the crews of foreign vessels. The climate and new rum are omnipotent. As an instance of the unfitness of Port-au-Prince for European constitutions, I may cite the fate of the French consul general's family. I believe that on arrival

* Moreau St. Mery gives a catalogue, of fearful extent, of the diseases of every month in the year.

it consisted of six, five of whom were dead within fifteen months, M. Maler, the consul general, being the sole survivor.

It strikes a stranger as very extraordinary that the people should seem to delight in attending funerals. The women are the principal attendants, and the greater the number, the greater the honor paid to the deceased. Some uncharitable foreigners ascribe this to the want of places of public amusement, at which the ladies can exhibit themselves. Funerals and church thus, it is said, become their only resource. I found afterwards in Jamaica, that the humblest slave aspires to the glory of a fine funeral; so that personal vanity may not be the sole cause of the Haitian practice of inviting the whole town to escort the dead to their last earthly home. The custom extends to foreigners as well as natives, and, with half-a-dozen exceptions, I can with truth declare that all the invitations I received for the first six months of my residence were to funerals, and I must candidly own that I did not do due honor to the dead; for the time of the ceremonial being one at which the sun was very powerful, I generally contrived to mourn by deputy.*

* This subject is pathetically and admirably illustrated by Sir Walter Scott in the "Antiquary."

I have been repeatedly asked, is there any court in Haiti? Were I to answer directly, I should say that there is none according to the European standard, and I suspect that there is nothing to correspond with the republican levees of Washington. To form a correct idea of the meetings, or whatsoever else they may be called, at the Palace of Port-au-Prince, it is necessary to discard all the gorgeous accounts of Christophe's court. There is no king; there are no dukes, marquesses, counts, barons, or knights; no stars or ribbands; neither are there any splendid equipages: there is, in fact, nought but military rank, indicated by military attire, that commands respect, and, I may add, almost exclusive authority; and the most illustrious of the Haitian chiefs wend their melancholy way to the Sunday levee on foot or on horseback, as their good stars may enable them to do. This is the only fixed public day, and at six o'clock in the morning the President receives all persons, whether natives or foreigners, who choose to sally forth at this apparently unreasonable hour, though in reality not a bad one, in a very hot country. Whenever a particular audience is required, especially by a public agent of a foreign government, difficulties are rarely interposed by the president.

After a due allowance of bowing and saying civil things, the chief mounts his horse, accompanied by his officers of state and personal staff, and proceeds to the "Champ de Mars," where the regiments in garrison, and the militia in succession, from the adjacent districts, are formed into three sides of a square, round which the president rides slowly, inspecting the men. No evolutions are performed, and the troops rarely fire—whether to economize powder, or to avoid personal risk to the "Etat Major," does not appear quite certain. The military bands play during the inspection, and I dare say that the performance is highly gratifying to admirers of cracked trumpets, and a "pretty considerable" disregard of tune and time. Sometimes the president, "*à la Napoleon*," on noticing a soldier unusually neat, calls him out of the ranks, pats him on the back, and holds him out as an example to his brethren. I never witnessed such a scene, though it was accurately described to me; for I only once essayed the field, and my horse was so little an amateur of the music, though himself a Haytian, that I was delighted to escape without adding to the exhibitions of the morning by a *summerset*. Having no ambition to display feats of horsemanship, I never

returned to the charge ; but I had weekly accounts confirmatory of my own observations.

This ceremonial ended, the president and his suite ride through the city to inspect its condition, no doubt carefully surveying the very rapid accumulation or decrease of filth (according to the serenity or wetness of the day) that adorns the “ beautiful capital.” And as this part of the business is conducted with indescribable gravity, I do hope that the community at large may eventually derive much benefit from it.

Besides these hebdomadal exhibitions, there are three days consecrated by the thirty-fourth article of the revised constitution of 1816 to public festivity, and on each of these the president holds a public court. The days are the 1st January, the anniversary of Haitian independence ; the 2d April, that of the birth of Petion, the founder of the republic ; and 1st May, that of the establishment of the “ Fête d’Agriculture.” Of these I had the bad fortune to be present only at the celebration of the anniversary of the Independence of the Republic ; the other celebrations having taken place when I was absent from the capital. Of the occasion at which I was present, I shall give a short account.

Some days prior to the "fête," on the 1st Jan. 1827, I received an invitation to attend the great meeting on that day, at the palace, and afterwards to dine with his Excellency. Accordingly I went at six in the morning, (the appointed hour,) in all the paraphernalia of office, shining like a dollar, as the Barbadians have it, and found numberless military men as well as civilians, of nearly every colour in the rainbow, assembled, interchanging kisses with moustachioed lips, a ceremony that affected my nervous economy in an indescribable manner, male kissing being rather against my code of ethics. All were huddled together without order, as there was no master of ceremonies, even such a one as might have appeared at a ball after Epping hunt, and every man was left to his own resources. I was fortunate enough to find my old friend General Inginac, to whom on this and every other occasion I was indebted for personal kindness. But, notwithstanding that kindness, I had got into a state of moral "asphyxia," when the appearance of my friend and colleague, M. Maler, the French consul-general, revived me. The time passed as pleasantly as his wit and eccentric remarks on the scene could make it; but expectation under accumulating heat is the devil. At length,

about eight o'clock, a buzz was heard, and out rushed his Excellency the President, muttering a few words, which I was told by a step-son of Sonthonax, M. Villevalleix, (who now holds office in the republic,) was an apology for having kept us waiting. We were then marshalled by my informant, who now assumed the duties of acting master of the ceremonies, and we proceeded to the "Autel de la Patrie," which from its appearance would be more appropriately named "l'Echafaud de la Patrie." By the time in which the procession (in which the precedence of the students of medicine and of foreign agents was a moot point,) had reached its station, the president was on "the altar," and we had abundant leisure to examine his outward man. He was dressed in a blue frock-coat, very richly embroidered with gold. On the beauty of his inexpressibles I cannot pretend to descant, from the depth and closeness of his coat; but his boots surpassed any thing I had ever seen. The foot, the ankle, and the upper part, was each of a different colour, the form, Hessian, bound with gold, with an enormous gold tassel dependent; and the whole was as amply embroidered as a Chinese shoe, and nearly as elegant. Over his shoulder was slung a belt of velvet and gold, to which was appended a

sword, such as Bayard may have been supposed to have used in his last devotions, while in his hand he carried a superb cane mounted with gold, and nearly rivalling the presidential altitude. His Excellency's head was surmounted with a tremendous "chapeau a la Claque," which he dismounted, and gracefully waving it, he emphatically recalled the glories of the day thus commemorated, anticipated the perpetuity of independence, foretold brilliant prospects of futurity, and the annihilation of foreign aggressors. His Excellency then descended, and saying a few civil things to those near him, the procession again moved forward to the church, where a "Te Deum" was performed, and we then returned to "the place from which we came," where we peacefully separated for our respective dwellings, half broiled by the sun, and exhausted by hunger and fatigue. At seven in the evening, a party of about one hundred and fifty persons (including the foreign agents) dined with the President. Among the toasts were "The President and Republic of Haiti," "Charles X." "George IV." and various others. Excess was not the characteristic of the party; for, after a very few glasses of wine, we adjourned to an apartment, in which

the female members of General Boyer's family were assembled, where we had some music; and the honorary laureate of the republic, (General Chanlatte, since dead,) sung a song composed by himself, the burthen of which was "Vive Boyer! Vive Haiti!" More I recollect not, though the lyrics were published in a newspaper. I ought to have gone home at ten o'clock, but my groom, having thought it necessary to do honour to the day by potent libations, was unable to bring my horses, and I was obliged to go in quest of them.

I regret, now that there is no probability of my ever again witnessing the scenes, that I lost the two other national festivals, at which I understand a display somewhat different from that just described takes place. The professed object of that of the 1st of May is to encourage agriculture by the award of prizes to the most successful cultivators; but I am not aware that the competition is as yet very extensive. However, it appears to be one of the objects that are very steadily pursued by the government of Haiti.

Of the president's domestic arrangements and private parties, I can say nothing from personal observation, as my intercourse with him was

purely official. It was said that the French consul-general was more familiar, owing to the predilections of the president, which very naturally tend to the country of his father, who was a Frenchman.

CHAPTER II.

Population and Society of Port-au-Prince—Exclusion of White Proprietors—Case of Darfour—American Servants—Slothful Habits—Style of Visiting—Cultivation and Wages—Rural Police—M. Nau's Plantation.

THE population of the capital and its immediate vicinity consists of a few foreigners of different nations, the adopted citizens of the republic, and the natives of the island. The first of these classes is composed of a few public agents, merchants, and some tradespeople. With the exception of the British and French consuls, all the other agents were commercial men. Of the style of society I shall presently speak.

The subjects, or citizens (which I believe to be the more appropriate republican epithet) to Haiti, in this district, were, at the period of which I refer, divided into three great classes ;

viz. a very few white men ; every shade of colour between white and black, to which Moreau St. Mery and Lacroix have attempted to affix a nomenclature ; and the negroes. In the order of their numerical proportions they stand thus : black, coloured, white. The first two of these classes are again subdivided in reality, (though all professing a common allegiance) into all the national distinctions of Europe and America ; for by the forty-fourth article of the constitution, all Indians, Africans, and their descendants, whether of mixed or pure blood, may become citizens after a residence of twelve months. The residence, however, is often dispensed with, though contrary to the theory of the constitution, as I have had occasion to know. Hence Haiti, in general, becomes a place of refuge to all persons of those classes, who either have, or suppose themselves to have, reason to be dissatisfied with their own country ; and the capital, from natural causes, is the place of principal resort, especially on first emigration. The remainder are native-born Haitians, having every peculiarity of opinion that may be imagined to have been engendered by their situation and circumstances. Such, at least, is the opinion of the best informed persons (natives as well as strangers) with whom I conversed on the sub-

ject; and my own observations, as far as they went, confirmed what I had heard from others.

Notwithstanding the discordance of these materials, the government asserts that all the feelings and prejudices, either of the olden time, or on the subject of colour, or on that of national origin, have been absorbed by an intense patriotism: others again aver, that in no part of the world do prejudices and feelings exist to so great an extent as in the capital itself; and I am disposed to fear that the latter opinion is the most correct, from many facts; but most especially so, from the maintenance of the 38th article of the constitution, which proscribes all whites* from becoming citizens, in spite of the conviction of the most enlightened of the chiefs, who, I cannot but believe, reluctantly defer to the prejudices of the many.†

I made many inquiries on this point; for, besides its importance in determining the political concord of the republic, I was curious to ascertain how far a revolution, founded on hos-

* Art. 38. "Aucun blanc, quelque soit sa nation, ne pourra mettre les pieds sur ce territoire à titre de maître ou de propriétaire."

† Christophe disapproved of this law; and Vasty, in his "Reflexions Politiques," proposed the substitution of "aucun François," instead of "aucun blanc."

tility to prejudice of colour, had ended, with reference to what has been professed to be its most active immediate cause. The state of the case, such as I believe to exist, is by no means unnatural, however unfortunate it may be for abstract principles: indeed, I apprehend it to be one of the most difficult efforts of humanity to remove prejudices, however absurd, in a limited community, with which they have been almost identified. If this be true, a solution will be at once given to this apparent anomaly in a society formed out of the most dissimilar elements.

The government, as I have already remarked, deny such an opinion, and they are right; but there is direct evidence of no very ancient date, that individuals may be found ready to excite passions which it is clearly the interest of the whole should slumber. In 1822, a black man, named Darfour, a native of the district known by that name in Africa, who, when a boy, had accompanied a French gentleman from Egypt to France, where he had been educated, emigrated to Haiti. At Port-au-Prince he established himself as the editor of a newspaper, called "L'Eclipse;" and, adopting the opinion that his own caste was undervalued and excluded from offices of trust, he became a vehement opponent of the government. His proceedings were so

violent that he was obliged to lay down his paper, and to support himself by manual labour. His restless spirit however, always at work, discovered, or supposed it had discovered, some new oppression. He embodied his wrongs in a petition to the Chamber of Commons, which he proceeded to deliver at the bar of that body, with the support of some of its most distinguished members. These proceedings were nipped in the bud ; for the petitioner was arrested, led before a court martial (although a civilian), tried, convicted, and shot. The members who had abetted him were exiled, as I understood, without trial, to a distance from Port-au-Prince, to which they were permitted to return after having duly expiated their political sins by an exile of some months. I was also told that they were expelled the Chamber.

• As far as I could discover, there is nothing of an imperceptible gradation in society. The president avowedly stands at the head, and the military and civil officers range according to their respective ranks : but there is no higher order, no middle class, descending to the lower orders in private life. Military and civil employment, and the possession of money, alone entitle to consideration ; but in general the possessor will associate on terms of familia-

rity with the lowest member in the scale of society, without any feeling of degradation. There are, however, exceptions to this awkward practice. Some have attempted to show that the coloured population form an aristocracy, while the whole of the labour is entailed on the negro. This, I suspect, is generalizing too extensively; though it is a fact that the former very often fill the principal offices, owing, I suppose, to their being generally better educated; but there are many instances in which blacks, even without education, are intrusted with important offices. There is one circumstance which appears to me very essentially to contribute to this spirit of equality. Almost every man, whatever his official rank may be, is either directly or indirectly engaged in commerce, the acquisition of money being held in as great repute as it ever was in Duke's-place or the Minorities. Out of the class just mentioned there is no intermediate step to that of labourers, artizans, domestic servants, &c. These are of all colours and of various qualities. The natives are the most numerous, and there are among them some ingenious workmen and industrious labourers; but these qualities are not so general as they ought to be.

Among the labourers in town, there is a con-

siderable number of emigrants from the United States of America, who, though by no means deficient in intelligence, are, with few exceptions, by no means the most respectable part of the community. My personal experience among several American servants that I had, led to this conclusion; and on investigating the causes, I found that during the rage for emigration from America to Haiti, the very refuse of the black and coloured population of the former were foremost, no doubt in the expectation of finding a school-boy's Utopia in the new land of promise. But when they found that the government exacted labour in return for food and grants of land, discontent and dissatisfaction followed; and those who could not remove themselves, (which numbers failed in doing, owing to the vigilance of the authorities) became as systematic in idleness, drunkenness, and profligacy, as men and women could be.

Indolence and inactivity are not, however, confined to the emigrants; they are the characteristics of the country: there is a general air of listlessness, which may be aptly described as "a death-like languor which is not repose," pervading all classes. I was much struck by a practical illustration which was one day afforded by a Haitian of the truth of this remark. An

Englishman had desired a porter in the house where he was employed, to go on some message for him to a short distance. As I was interested in it, I awaited his return, which was delayed much longer than it ought to have been. At last the messenger appeared, "creeping like snail:" my acquaintance called out in the usual phrase on such occasions, "Vite ! vite !" which seemed rather to retard the motions of our Mercury. At last he arrived ; and on my asking "Pourquoi, mon ami, est ce que vous ne courez pas ?" he replied, with the most imperturbable gravity, "Nous ne courons pas dans ce pays ci." Had there been any drollery, it might have been cited as a specimen of Haitian humour ; but it was no such thing ; it was the sober enunciation of a principle.

If a doubt remain on a stranger's mind as to the correctness of this view of the case, let him ride through Port-au-Prince at any hour of the day, and he will see "confirmation strong." The manner in which, at all hours of the day, the women and men are seen lounging under canvas, strained in front of the houses to exclude the sun, is no bad accompaniment for the sentries in chairs ; and I suspect there is no part of the world where more time is literally "whiled away" than in Haiti. The impress of

listless indolence is decidedly given to all animated nature ; even the dogs and pigs wander about with an apathy unseen elsewhere. The latter seem so lean, as almost to convince the spectator, that, contrary to the habits of their race, they have abandoned gluttony. I was once much struck by a dry remark made by a caustic fellow : “ D—n these Haitians, they cannot even fatten a pig.” Whether this be true or not, or whether the climate exercises the enervating influence ascribed to that of Naples, I will not presume to decide ; but it is a certain fact that wretched pigs and scarecrow dogs abound.

The society of Port-au-Prince, as already stated of the population, is either foreign or native ; the former very much divided, according to the countries to which the individuals belong, although they mingle together very generally. Their foreign residents are merchants, chiefly English, French, German, and North American, who visit without restraint, although there are individuals who seem desirous of keeping up national distinctions. Many conceived it quite anomalous that the French consul-general and the officers of the French squadron should be on habits of familiar intercourse with me. In spite of such opinions, I steadily maintained an intercourse on which I shall always reflect with

pleasure, as having afforded a pleasing relief to the most laborious and irksome portion of my life. There is very little systematic visiting among foreigners in Port-au-Prince, but a good deal of dropping-in visits. The practice of breakfasting at mid-day and dining (the natives call it "souper") at seven o'clock, tends to promote this uncereemonious kind of intercourse. As there is always enough prepared for the family, an interloper is never heeded, except to be welcomed. The chief objection to these late breakfasts is the introduction of wine and spirits, which sometimes leads to excess. They are however so much in vogue, that many foreigners, as well as natives, who never give a dinner, occasionally give a "*déjeuner à la fourchette*" to a small party of sixty or eighty. At one of these, given by a most respectable and worthy Englishman, I witnessed the evil effects of the early introduction of wine; for an official foreigner was soon carried off senseless; while his neighbour had solid reasons for regretting the proximity of his pockets to the eruption which preceded the melancholy state of repose that rendered a bed necessary.

What the intercourse of the natives with each other may be I cannot describe, as I had no means of making any minute inquiries; but I

should rather think that it consists chiefly in calls; when slight refreshments, such as wine, or spirits and water, or "eau sucrée," are produced. Their invitations to foreigners are not common; but when they do occur there is abundance of every thing. I cannot ascribe this rarity to any want of hospitality; for, as I shall hereafter have occasion to show, that is a virtue which abounds, at least in the country districts. I suspect a want of means is the real cause.

At the period of our arrival, and for a long time after, there were no balls among the better classes, owing, in the first place, to the mourning for the eldest daughter of Petion, who had died at a very early age, a short time before; and secondly, to the depressed state of commerce, and the general distress: but shortly before I left the island the gaieties had recommenced. I wished certainly to have seen one; but occupation, and the power of going whenever I chose, led me to postpone doing so, until sickness rendered it impossible.

From some of my friends who were present, I learned that European dances were chiefly in vogue; the "carabinier," a sort of cotillon, being almost the only one peculiar to the republic. The men are described as zealous, though

not the most graceful votaries of Terpsichore ; while the softer sex display much grace in evolutions, though too nearly allied to the style of the ballet. The men are reported not to dress in accordance with the canons of Stultz ; but the toilet of the ladies very closely resembles that on the eastern side of the Atlantic, with the exception of the head-dress, which is a sort of turban, constructed generally of a Madras handkerchief: I think it pretty, though rather too lofty. Whenever a lady does not intend to dance, this head-gear is formed of a white handkerchief; a sort of flag of truce that is always held sacred.

I was told that it would be difficult to determine which was the worst, the music or the refreshments: the former consisting of two or three cracked clarionets and horns ; the latter, of orgeat, bad rum, worse water, and coarse syrup and water, sparingly served out of a still more slender supply of glasses.

Private concerts also occurred ; and I understand from competent judges that they were, to use the professional phrase, very well got up. Among the chief performers were some native Haitians, who had held commissions in the French army in Europe. Upon these two im-

portant points I am only a hearsay-witness, as I never was present at either.

The majority of the inhabitants of the country adjacent to Port-au-Prince are small proprietors or "concessionaires;" to whom, by an Agrarian law introduced by the late president Petion, small allotments of land have been made. I know of no small tenants paying rent for land. They cultivate such articles as Guinea-grass and vegetables, and they rear poultry. In the higher grounds coffee is grown to a small extent. The same individuals also occasionally labour for the foreign residents near the town for wages. There may be a few professed labourers; but of these there are I believe but very few: it is consequently difficult to secure steady labour. Living as I did, about two miles from town, I found it necessary to cultivate as much grass as was wanted for my own horses. I had always one labourer, generally an American emigrant, residing on my premises; but occasionally, to keep down the rapid growth of weeds, extra labour was required: yet in spite of the inducements of better wages than were usually paid, and of punctual payment every Saturday, I could rarely, if ever, get the same set of people to work two weeks continuously.

I found that the produce of one week's exertions (from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to two dollars), if they could be called so, enabled the labourer to enjoy for a considerable period his chief luxury, rum; as the necessaries of life are to be procured for a mere trifle, or with very little effort. One exception I must make in favour of an old sous-lieutenant, who had served under Christophe, and in his latter days reverted to his original rank, that of a labourer; he toiled week after week: but he had acquired ambition in his military career. My hero, though one of the ugliest men in the republic, was named *Adonis*!

The evils of this disinclination to labour press heavily on the finances of the government, who have discovered that "ex nihilo nihil fit;" and that they cannot perform their engagements without produce. Hence originated the "code rural," the existence of which was so boldly denied in this country. It provides, as I shall hereafter show, very amply for enforcing labour; but the execution of the law near Port-au-Prince becomes difficult from the want of subordinate agents. Night-dancing, so much in vogue, is restricted to those nights that precede holidays; by which arrangement industry and pleasure may go hand-in-hand. But the law is inoperative. During the whole of my

residence near Port-au-Prince, my rest was broken at least thrice every week by the big drums at these meetings ; and one of the principal places of resort was the house of the captain of the rural police, whose duty it was to repress such assemblages. This worthy also afforded his visitants an opportunity of disgorging a little of their surplus capital at "rouge et noir," or some other equally complicated game. This man was a character of some note. He was not inaptly named "Taureau ;" for though his means were small, and his cottage still smaller, he had a harem of no less than six wives, one of whom for a time was my laundress. Great was the consternation in the seraglio, when one of the ladies was discovered to have, in defiance of her allegiance, maintained a less than questionable intimacy with a young black gallant, yclept Michel, the servant of an English merchant. Complaint after complaint rolled out against the lover, and Heaven only knows what might have been his fate, had not the suggestions of his master rendered him more circumspect.

I once went to one of these rural balls, which was got up at the instance of one of my English neighbours, that I might have an opportunity of making my personal observations. A rude hut,

covered with the branches of trees, was lighted with a few candles. The musician, dressed fantastically, sat in a corner, beating a large drum; and the dancers of both sexes moved slowly, chanting a melancholy and wild accompaniment to the drum. The attitudes were voluptuous and not devoid of grace: there was no particular motion of the feet, and the figure was merely advancing to and receding from, and moving slowly around the cabin. At the end of each dance, the musician started up, darted to the place where the strangers stood, and exhibited some frantic gesticulations. Smoking, and drinking tafia, were the other recreations of the evening.

I have already noticed the uncultivated appearance of the country on approaching it from the sea. The same character prevails, though to a less extent, on riding through it; for although occasional patches of cultivation do present themselves, they are so few when compared with the dense masses of rank natural vegetation, (which proceeds with a rapidity wholly unknown in milder climates,) as to sink into the shade. Thus to a person unprepared for such quick growth, the beautiful plain of Cul-de-sac, to the N. E. of Port-au-Prince, would seem to be an old forest of logwood (*hœma-*

toxylum Campechianum), and of bayahond (acacia); although, within the last thirty years, it was covered with sugar establishments, which must have rivalled any in the world.

The general kind of culture I have already noticed, when speaking of the labourers. That of canes is carried on to a small extent in the environs. To the west, on the Leogane road, is the plantation Letor, already noticed; another belonging to General Inginac and the widow of M. Sabourin, a former chief judge, called Mon Repos: one in the plain of Cul-de-sac, Roche Blanche, belonging to the president; a plantation belonging to General Lerebours, the commandant of Port-au-Prince; another to M. Nau, the treasurer-general, on which one hundred and fifty labourers are employed, besides smaller establishments. In the same direction there is also a very pretty country-house, belonging to the president, called Drouillard, at which Christophe established his head-quarters when besieging Port-au-Prince. I do not believe that any cultivation goes on there. It has much the appearance of the retreat of an English gentleman.

In reply to some queries addressed to me by the directions of the late Mr. Secretary Canning, I gave some account of Letor, which having

been printed by the order of the House of Commons, I feel myself at liberty now to use, especially as the statement has been fully borne out by subsequent inquiries.

“ Formerly one thousand seven hundred carreaus (each containing about three hundred and eighty square French feet) were in canes ; above one thousand five hundred slaves were employed on it ; three sugar-mills were constantly at work, and excellent sugar was made. Now about seven carreaus are in cultivation ; not fifty labourers are employed ; and the only produce is a little syrup and tafia, which last is retailed in a small shop by the road-side, in front of the president's residence.”—P. 80. *Parliamentary Papers*.

M. Nau very kindly invited me to his country-house, for the purpose of seeing his plantation, which is justly considered amongst the first in the republic ; for being a man of property, he is never driven by poverty to abandon what he has once begun, which is very often the case with inferior speculators. I spent the day very agreeably with him, and gained much useful knowledge of the state of cultivation. His arrangements were not quite finished ; but as far as I (who know nothing of the details of sugar cultivation) can judge, they must succeed

when brought into full play, provided that he can ensure labour. Little or no sugar is made any where, at least for exportation, as I shall hereafter prove ; the juice of the cane being almost invariably only reduced to the state of syrup, and used in that state for domestic purposes, or distilled into tafia, of which there is a very large consumption, being the favourite liquor of the natives.

The commerce of Port-au-Prince is carried on by various classes of persons. The imports from Europe and America are principally consigned to European and North American commission-houses, besides a few Haitian establishments. The capital is one of the ports to which foreign merchants are confined by the law of patents ; but they are, or at least were during the time of my residence, restricted by heavy penalties to wholesale business. Of course they cannot deal with the consumers, but with the native retailers, who are chiefly women, styled " *marchandes* ;" these employ hucksters, also women, who traverse the country, attend the markets, and give an account of their transactions to their employers, either every evening, once a week, or once a month, according to their character for integrity.

As the payments to the importer are gene-

rally in money, and there is only one important article of export, coffee; the purchases for returns can only be made after the crops have been gathered, and these are effected by brokers, who often bargain with a class of natives called coffee speculators, from their dealing for the chance of the market with the cultivators, and either sell to the best advantage, or fulfil contracts previously entered into.

Among the respectable marchandes, there is said to be much good faith; but with the great body of customers, I believe the merchants are obliged to use the utmost circumspection.

All the ordinary tradesmen, such as tailors, shoe-makers, and even a water-proof hat manufacturer, are to be found in Port-au-Prince. And I confess I was struck with the respectable appearance of several booksellers' shops, having looked in vain for such things both in Barbadoes and Antigua. The books are generally elementary French publications and romances. The works of Voltaire, Rousseau, and others of the same class, abound.

There are also two printing-presses, one at which the government gazette, *Le Telegraphe*, is printed, and the other from which the *Feuille de Commerce* issues. The former rarely contains more than the documents issued by the

government ; the latter occasionally some spirited papers, and is conducted by M. Courtois, who was for a short time director of the post-office.

The apothecaries' shops are numerous, as they ought to be in such a horrible climate, and are well supplied with all the contents of the French pharmacopeia. There are also some tanneries, in which the bark of the mangrove is used as the tanning material. As far as I could ascertain, the great bulk of the border-people were either of that class of Europeans called in the French time " *petits blancs*," or people of colour. The labourers either in town or country are generally black.

At the time of my first arrival, the expectations of the government as well as of the people were on tiptoe, as to the establishment of a mining company, for working gold-mines in the district of Cibao. During the era of mining delusion, a company which was graced by many distinguished names, was formed in London, and agents sent out to explore this new Eldorado, previous to realising golden visions. Under such auspices the expectations of the Haitians scarcely knew any bounds ; but " *la crise financière*," as they phrased it in Europe, rather deranged their ideas ; and when I was in Port-

au-Prince, one of the agents returned to report that no gold was to be found, and thus most reluctantly this source of national wealth was abandoned. How far the agents sent out were competent to the inquiry in which they were employed, or how far they executed with correctness and ability their trust, I cannot decide, as I am too little informed of the arrangements that were made, or of the talents of the individuals in question ; but it is impossible to avoid suspecting that the improvidence which characterised the proceedings of too many similar associations, was not wanting here ; or that failure resulted as much from bad information as from the absence of the precious metal. Indeed, one may suspect any absurdity when looking back on the schemes of 1825 and 1826, a period at which a company was gravely formed for the condensation of saw-dust into planks, which were to be superior to the original deals. No supposition can be too absurd ; and one is only surprised that Swift's "Wonder of all the wonders that ever the world wondered at" was not revived and credited.

At the time of which I speak, the formation of a national bank too was said to have been an object of great solicitude to the president. This much is certain, that a law was passed

authorising it ; but up to the time of my departure, I never heard that any progress had been made towards its completion. Mr. Franklin, who I believe was engaged in the scheme, gives some account of it in his work on Haiti.

Shortly after my arrival I had a pretty severe attack of fever, which I shook off ; but about the end of July, or the beginning of August, I had a second, that in a very few days reduced me to a state of infantine weakness. Captain Hunn, of His Majesty's ship Tweed, which was then at Port-au-Prince, with much kindness proposed a short cruize. Right glad to escape from the heat of the capital, I availed myself of his offer, and we sailed as far as Gonave, visited Cape Nicolas Mole, and returned in about ten days or a fortnight. We circumnavigated Gonave, which I have already mentioned as lying across the entrance of the bay, about forty miles from the anchorage at Port-au-Prince. Formerly some settlements had been made on it ; but of late it has been wholly uninhabited, except by a few fishermen, who, with their families, had pitched their tents there to enjoy all the luxuries of mosquitos, sand-flies, sand, and heat : but as they also ventured to cut down mahogany, and to establish themselves as lords of the soil, much after

the fashion of the American Squatters, his Excellency the President, a very short time before my arrival, had fitted out an expedition against the unhallowed knaves, and, after having destroyed all their *squattings*, brought them to the main land, to contribute to its welfare, industry, and prosperity. Very good water is to be had in a bay on the north-western extremity;—at least, I think it was thereabouts.

Our visit to Cape Nicolas was rather ill-fated. We entered the harbour, which is first-rate, being completely land-locked, so that the water is as still as that of a pond, and of great depth, close to a very bold shore. As soon as we had dropped our anchor, Captain Hunn, according to established usage, sent to the commandant, General Jean Batiste Bastien, to arrange for an exchange of civilities in the way of salutes. It seems that we were, in the language of the knowing ones, in the wrong box; for the mole is “a shut port,” not accessible to any vessels except in stress of weather. Captain Hunn’s application consequently produced infinite consternation, and a rare specimen of epistolary composition—a specimen so unique, that it would have been unfair to the future race of public writers to have withheld it,

had I not unfortunately mislaid the copy. It warned us off; but nothing daunted by so formidable a warning, we discovered that we wanted water, and applied for permission to supply ourselves. No difficulty was opposed to this; but the salutes were not to be thought of, and to avoid our urgency to do honour to the national flag of the republic, General Bastien, who had studied naval and military tactics, as well as diplomacy, under Christophe, (who had created him Count de Leogane) performed a feat that has fairly entitled him to be considered the Talleyrand of his country. He left his aide-de-camp to negotiate with the officer sent by Captain Hunn, while he and his wife, in a towering black beaver hat with an enormous black plume, fairly galloped off to the rear of the town. We afterwards discovered that there was only *one* gun mounted in this once formidable post. Early the following morning the land breeze wafted us from this inhospitable place.

Cape Nicolas Mole, as is well known to every one conversant with the revolutions of St. Domingo, was fortified at great expence by the French government; and after we obtained possession, it was rendered one of the strongholds of the world, seaward. And even now

the ruined works retain the names which we had given them. After an enormous expense had been fruitlessly incurred, the late Sir Thomas Maitland entered into a convention with Toussaint in 1798, and delivered up the fortifications to him, with so much pomp as to call forth the sneers of the French writers. When Christophe and Petion divided the French portion of the island, the Mole retained its fidelity to the latter. The former besieged it in 1812, and after the governor, General Lamar, had been killed, and his immediate successor had blown out his brains on despairing of succour, it fell into the hands of Christophe, who butchered some of the survivors, razed the works, and even cut down the trees that adorned the suburbs—a melancholy monument of his vindictive fury. The destruction of the trees was an act of very wanton ferocity, as they afforded almost the only shade in that neighbourhood, the country being remarkably arid and bare. The city is now reduced to the lowest state, there being no trade, notwithstanding its fine situation. In the event of war it would still be an invaluable military position, which would probably not be overlooked either by America or France.

After I had landed at Port-au-Prince, the

Tweed was obliged to return to Jamaica, and Captain Hunn visited Gonaives. It seems to have been his lot to meet with adventures. While there, he invited all the authorities, who gladly profited by his politeness, and gave such substantial evidence of their approbation of his fare, that, to use Burns's appropriate phrase, most of them were "right glorious." While in that state, some busy demon of imagination suggested the possibility that in their helpless condition the frigate might sail to Jamaica, and the hapless chiefs be once more reduced to "villain bonds." No sooner had this idea been excited than several of the party disappeared, and were found hiccupping their apprehensions in the boats alongside, out of which it was fruitless for the boat-keepers to attempt to expel them. The story got into some of the English papers, and I deemed it a fable; but I have since learned from eye-witnesses that in essentials the narrative was strictly true.

During my stay at Port-au-Prince, I made several excursions in different directions; but that with which I was most pleased was to La Coupe, a district in the highlands to the eastward of the city, distant about seven or eight miles. The road is well planned, but in a horribly dilapidated condition, and the ascent is

nearly continuous the whole way. There is, on the way, considerable variety of bold and picturesque scenery overhanging the road, and at different intervals there are some very neat cottages, surrounded by small patches of cultivated land. One of these, belonging to a Haitian merchant, I wished very much to have rented, but I could not get it. On reaching the district named La Coupe, the atmosphere is cool and agreeable, and the few scattered cottages that present themselves afford a perfectly pastoral retreat, in which it is truly grateful to lounge, freed from the heat and innumerable “*désagréments*” of “*la belle capitale*.” My first trip was made with M. Maler and a party of French naval officers to the cottage of M. Jacquemont, a French gentleman, whose brother, a very rising naturalist, is, I believe, now in India. My second was to a little mud hovel rented by Mr. Moravia, an English resident. The contrast between the comparative coolness of La Coupe, and the oppressive sultriness of Port-au-Prince, can only be appreciated by those who have been doomed, as was the case with myself, to swelter for uninterrupted months in the latter. I look back with pleasure to these two excursions, as among the few gratifying recollections

connected with this most unsatisfactory mission to Haiti.

Some miles to the eastward of La Coupe, at a still greater elevation, is Fort Jacques, a fortress, I believe built by the British. I intended to have visited it, but business always interfered, until I was incapacitated by dangerous illness from doing so. The climate is there cool and agreeable. Apples, pears, and European vegetables, flourish; but the road is execrable, and even hazardous; and, what is still worse, on reaching this otherwise agreeable, though foggy, region, there is no accommodation, save some miserable negro huts. Were it not for these difficulties, although the distance from the coast is not less than eighteen or twenty miles, there would probably not be one foreigner of any consideration who would not have a retreat there; but at present this is completely out of the question. The comfort and healthiness of such an arrangement would be immense, and not to be imagined by those who have never been exposed to a greater degree of suffering than being obliged to ride post, instead of calmly reposing with air pillows in a chariot and four. Often, when oozing at every pore, and incapacitated even from holding a pen, have

I wished for such a retreat ; but the wish was as unavailing as if I had longed for Gyges' ring. Some centuries hence good roads may be established, pleasant villas built, and the agents of distant countries may there, forgetful of the annoyances of their predecessors, assemble and discuss the destinies of powers not yet in being. In the mean time, the unfortunate individuals who may be called to sacrifice health, comfort, and perhaps life, in the service of their respective countries, must be satisfied to endure, and to believe that
“*Virtus sua præmia tulit.*”

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Port-au-Prince—Journey to Leogane—Commandant and Town of Grand Goave—Rumours of rural discipline—Crossing the Tapion—Petit Goave—M. Baudain—L'Acul de Petit Goave—St. Michel—Blind beggar—Post Vigile—Dangerous ford—Acquin—Juge de Paix—St. Louis—M. Dumesle—Cavaillon—Cayes—History—Town-adjutant—Suburbs—Distilleries.

HAVING made the necessary arrangements for my absence, I left my cottage on the morning of the 10th February, at three o'clock, with my brother and two of the gentlemen attached to the consulate, together with a considerable cavalcade of horses and mules, rendered necessary by the reported impossibility of procuring any thing on the road. As I was not well, I rode in a gig, which had been very kindly lent to me by one of the party. Our road lay past Letor and Fort Bizotton, which I have already mentioned; and to the left Mon repos, belonging to the secretary-general. Along the road-side we passed in confused assemblages the broken

utensils of sugar-works, indicating what had formerly been. The morning was cool and agreeable, as it generally is, in Haiti at that period of the day, when the thermometer rarely exceeds 72°. of Fahrenheit ; but by the time we had passed the Salines, a marshy wet portion of the road, and Morne-à-bateau, which is the boundary of the “ arrondissemens ” of Port-au-Prince and Leogane, the sun became perfectly intolerable. To ride fast was bad ; but to travel slowly was still worse. Being in a carriage, I was obliged to adopt the latter course. The scenery on the road-side, which runs close to the bay, was very beautiful and thickly wooded, with many of the trees in full bloom. There is but little elevation, except at Morne-à-bateau, where our anxieties for home were strongly called forth by the appearance of the English flag on a vessel beating into the bay. We crossed the river of Leogane, which, though now low, changes during rains into an impetuous and dangerous current. It traverses a considerable plain of the same name, to the east and south of the town ; and we reached, overwhelmed with heat, a coffee-house called L'Union, kept by a man of the name of Maby, in which there was a plentiful absence of civility, accommodation, or fare ; though the art of making out a bill was as per-

fectly understood by M. Maby as it was by Gil Blas' host at Penaflor. However, there was no alternative, unless we had chosen to bask in the sun with empty stomachs.

I called on the general commanding the arrondissement, Gedeon, I believe the senior general in the republic, (lately dead,) but he was absent on a tour of inspection. The commandant of the place was exceedingly civil, and reproached me with not having made his house my quarters; and I have no doubt that he was in earnest; for throughout the island I met with the greatest hospitality. This I ascribe partly to the natural disposition of the people, and partly to the general popularity of my country among them. The liberality of the British Government during the period that it shared in the local contests, had endeared it to the Haitians; and there is, I believe, no small portion of them who look up to Britain as the only power that could and would protect them in any difficulty. This impression I found very strong every where, whether well or ill-founded I cannot pretend to determine; though if unfounded, I rather rejoice that the delusion had not passed away when I might have suffered inconvenience from its doing so. It was, however, a subject on

which I never directly or indirectly expressed an opinion. I had rather a long conversation with the commandant, who was very proud of his good roads, and he had reason for being so, as they were really very respectable. He also assured me, that under excellent directions (viz. his own) the code rural worked well ; and that, in consequence, the “sirop” of his district was very much superior to that of any other quarter. He appeared a frank, obliging man, quite aware of his own good qualities, but apparently not so conversant with European opinions on some topics ; for, in speaking of an officer of rank in the republic, he observed with admirable naiveté and exquisite logic, “C’est mon beau frère, parceque je vis avec sa sœur.”

Leogane is a considerable town, chiefly built of wood ; and the streets, though unpaved, are better than those of Port-au-Prince. It was market-day, and there was a respectable degree of activity and bustle. There is only an open roadstead, but no sheltered harbour. Indeed, I believe there is none from Port-au-Prince to Petit Goave.

During the revolutionary contests, Leogane was a point of some consequence, and frequently the scene of sanguinary conflicts. It

was also a place of importance even at the time of the first discovery, being then the principal place of the kingdom of Xaragua, under the Cacique Behechio, whose successor and sister Anacoana was so treacherously ensnared and brutally murdered by the orders of Ovando, about the year 1497.

During the French regime, it was a place of very considerable importance; and in more recent times it fell alternately into the possession of all the contending parties, and is noted for the executions inflicted by General Rigaud on all who had deserted the republican banners, when he retook it in 1794. When I was there, no trace of such bloody deeds was to be seen. I should mention that, before my arrival in the country, some of the English residents of Port-au-Prince had entered into a subscription for establishing a race-course near to Leogane, the plain being well fitted for such a purpose; a stand was talked of, and every necessary arrangement discussed; but some how or other the project died away, though I never heard any reason assigned.

On leaving this town for Grand Goave, I intended to have proceeded by the road close to the sea, so as to have seen the mud fort Caira, which, under the command of Petion in

1795, had very handsomely mauled five of our line of battle ships, one of which was commanded by the late Sir John Duckworth ; but by the mistake of my guide we got into the main road, which is wide, and for some distance screened from the burning rays of the sun by a double row of trees of considerable size. We passed L'Habitation Beauharnois, which formerly belonged to the father of that gallant, high-minded gentleman, Eugene Beauharnois. It is now the property of a Haitian, whose name has escaped my memory.

On this road there are no inconsiderable marks of cultivation, as compared with the neighbourhood of Port-au-Prince ; generally speaking, however, every thing is on a small scale, when one reflects on the magnitude of the establishments of which the “ *disjecta membra* ” are profusely scattered on every road that I had previously passed over. On the right, not far from the town, lies the best estate in the district, the property of a black officer, one of the president's aides-de-camp. This perfection is ascribed by public report (which I believe not to be unfounded) to the use of club-law, which the gallant colonel is said by virtue of his military authority to administer with equal liberality and success. Among other stories, it is

asserted that on one occasion a blow from a cocomacac (a heavy jointed cane in common use in Haiti) knocked out the eye of a loiterer. So horrid a violation of law in an officer on the immediate staff of the chief ruler could not be overlooked. The colonel was removed from his command, and called upon to attend at the palace. He obeyed, and the penance was doubtless great ; for the affairs of the Commune went on so very badly during the suspension of the cocomacac authority, that he was sent back, it is supposed, with a suitable admonition to be more chary of people's eyes for the future. I do not vouch for these facts ; I only give them as they were told to me. The estate in question is described as in good order, whether in consequence of the discipline I know not. Others in the neighbourhood are also said to derive advantage from the inspection of so vigilant a person. As might be foreseen, his own estate however thrives most. I should fear that, in the present state of industry, no one man can attend to the cultivation of more than one estate, and exercise "surveillance" with any effect over a whole district. And yet, if the commandants were not permitted to be cultivators, I do not see how they can be induced to enforce labour on the properties of others.

There is a choice of difficulties, in which I consider it fortunate that I am not called upon to make a selection. Grand Goave was never (as far as I know) a place of any great note; at present it is a miserable small town, in which I only saw a few soldiers loitering about the streets. Along the road there are small bivouacks for the same gentlemen, who are stationed to repress vagrancy.

The road is good and shady. About midway between Grand and Petit Goave stands the Tapion de Petit Goave, over which a very good though steep road runs. It is celebrated as the spot on which, in July 1735, the French academicians, MM. Godin, Bouguer, La Condamine, and de Puysegur, determined the length of the pendulum. They also ascertained its greatest elevation to be three hundred and fifty-five toises above the level of the sea. It is very precipitous towards the sea, and runs about five miles. The road passes amid very bold rocks richly clad with tropical verdure, among which occasionally some small cottages peep out, and strongly reminded me of some scenes in Spain that had been almost forgotten during an absence of fourteen years.

On descending from the Tapion, the sea burst upon us in all the glory of a setting sun, the

beauty of which can only be known to those who have witnessed its descent on the ocean in warm countries. About two miles of very imperfectly cultivated country brought us to the small town of Petit Goave. Indeed, after descending from the magnificent vegetation of the Tapion, we found ourselves surrounded by the logwood and bayahond, so abundant in the Cul de Sac, the presence of which I believe is no bad index to the sort of cultivation that had previously prevailed. Our first care was to find a lodging for the night; but this miserable looking place, once the capital of the French colony, could not afford us bare walls for hire; and had it not been for the hospitality of M. Baudain, a native merchant, to whom I had letters of introduction, our plight would have been truly lamentable. I had great difficulty too in procuring any forage for my cattle. Although unprepared for visitors, and our party with servants was rather formidable, M. Baudain and his wife received us with the greatest hospitality and good-humour, apologising for the inconveniences incident to their not having been apprised of our coming.

Petit Goave was formerly a parish; but on the change of terms that occurred at the revolution, it became a commune, which it still re-

mains. It includes the hamlet of St. Michel, and is under the spiritual direction of a Spanish priest.

The state of the cultivation is reported to be bad, although formerly sugar and coffee were produced to some extent. The latter is still brought from the mountains, and shipped in large barges to Port-au-Prince, whither whole squadrons crowd before the sea-breeze, and are well known as the Musquito fleet. Most, if not all, of the sugar works have fallen into decay ; and as there are no funds, and less industry, the cultivation of the cane for sugar has been wholly abandoned. A little syrup is still made for the purpose of being distilled into tafia.

The harbour is said to be the best on this line of coast, but the climate unhealthy, and the town therefore less frequented than it would otherwise be. The sea defences are described as having been good under the old regime ; at present they are much reduced both in number and quality. As I intended to examine Petit Goave more at leisure on my way back, and I wished to start betimes the following morning, our conference ceased at an early hour.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 11th, we were up, and our kind hosts were ready with refreshments for the whole party. Having un-

derstood that it was not uncommon for Haitians even of the first class to receive payment for any accommodation afforded to a traveller, I directed my guide, who as a countryman would manage the affair adroitly, to tender some money. This was rejected, much to the satisfaction of the servants, among whom the intended donation was divided. These preliminaries being settled, we parted with our hospitable entertainers, though not until we were pledged to make their house our quarters in returning, and to give due notice of our approach.

On leaving Petit Goave, we pursued a miserable road running by the shore, as far as L'Acul de Petit Goave, where it turns off to the left, taking a southerly direction. At L'Acul we found all the negroes dancing to their hideous drum, with the same wild cry to which my ears had been familiarised at Port-au-Prince. We passed the Plantation Viallet, belonging to the senator of that name, where, as he told me, above six hundred thousand pounds of clayed sugar were formerly made. Now not an ounce, and no labourers are to be found. We also went by L'Ollivier, where we had been recommended to halt; but as there would have been some loss of time, we pursued our route. The whole country is uncultivated, and a rugged steep

hill, on which Macadam might be advantageously employed, nearly knocked up our horses, and demolished our gig, before we reached St. Michel, which we did about eight in the morning.

A small hut, entitled an auberge, afforded us shelter, and in an instant the whole of its inhabitants, consisting of an old woman, her son and daughter, were in a state of activity to procure food for man and beast. Some of the horses were put out to graze ; Guinea grass was provided for others ; and servants and masters were distributed in the coolest recesses that could be found, until breakfast could be prepared.

St. Michel was formerly a parish of some note, but now it forms a part of the Commune of Petit Goave, and the church is only dedicated to sacred purposes on the feast of St. Michel. His reverence then performs the service of that archangel. This is a melancholy fact.

While at breakfast, which consisted of all the good things that could be collected, eggs, fowls, ham, tea and coffee, and wine, to say nothing of brandy and tafia, the commandant, I believe a subaltern, allured by the smell of the viands, strutted in, evidently for a share ;

but as he seemed stupid, and intent only on feeding, I afforded him no encouragement, and he with infinite good tact withdrew. After being fitted for research by feeding, I commenced my inquiries, and was soon admitted to the confidence of the family. The mother, a respectable-looking elderly black woman, had formerly been a slave to Count Leaumont, who was so vehement against the recognition of Haitian independence ; the count had, destitute of his present antipathies, wooed with so much success, that she had presented him with a pledge of their loves, who, when I saw him, was an active intelligent young Mulatto, who exerted himself with infinite zeal, and talked to me of his noble “papa” with no small share of complacency. The daughter (also a Mulattress) was equally bustling, active, and obliging.

Count Leaumont and M. Duparc were the richest proprietors in the country, and from the reports made to me, they must have been kind masters. I especially directed my inquiries to the feelings of the people on the changes that had taken place, and to their actual condition ; and when the groupe was completed by the presence of an old blind black man, who had lost the whole of his toes from both feet, I felt

satisfied that I should not be deceived. I found all "*laudatores temporis acti*," and all equally dissatisfied. The blind beggar particularly deplored the revolution, to which he ascribed every misery that had befallen the country as well as himself. He had been a slave of M. Duparc, and had he remained so, he contended that either he would not have lost his eyes and toes, or that if he had, he would have been certain of kind usage and support, without being driven to recur to the casual bounty of strangers.

The expression of dissatisfaction by all was not confined to general or vague complaints. The whole party entered into a feeling and detailed contrast of their present condition, though free, with the care bestowed by the planters on their slaves in health, in sickness, in childhood, and in old age. They assured me that now there is not a single sugar estate in being in this vicinity: Pemesle, Leaumont, Duparc, and others, which had been highly cultivated, and had yielded large crops, had fallen into complete decay, and coffee was the only produce for sale. Although it was Sunday, numbers of drunken men were amusing themselves by riding at full gallop along the road.

One of my horses being thoroughly jaded, I was obliged to hire one; as soon as my wants were known, several horse-lenders presented themselves, all asking exorbitant sums; and one of the worthies, on my repressing his violence, looked very fiercely at me, and exclaimed, "Nous sommes tous egaux ici." I could not help thinking that equality had never in all its absurdities been more thoroughly ridiculed than by its assumption on this occasion.

We left our auberge about three o'clock in the afternoon, and after travelling over an execrable road, just practicable for a gig, we reached a small house in the midst of a garden kept in very tolerable order, called Trois Palmistes or Post Vigile, which last name it derives from its having been a post of the Marechaussée in the time of the French. The scenery between St. Michel and this place is very bold and romantic, very richly wooded. Along the way-side I first remarked groupes of graves, and my guide informed me that they were the burying-grounds of the old plantations, which are still appropriated to the same purposes by the people formerly belonging to them or their descendants.

Our "hostelry" was a wooden building with a mud floor, standing in the middle of a small plain on the summit of a height that rises from

a place called "Fond aux Negres." The proprietor, Cyril Dupont, who is an officer of the national guard, together with his wife, abounded in civility, and their charges were not extravagant. He told me the same story that I had heard every where, that sugar was abandoned for coffee, which is preferred by the cultivators as less laborious. So recently as 1815, Pemesle (which I had passed) had been in canes ; but in addition to coffee, small quantities of tobacco for home use are reared. This night we felt exceedingly cold, as the thermometer fell to 69°, which was at least 20° lower than we had had it in the shade the preceding days. The difference in the sun I had not noted.

To avoid the burning sun, we commenced our journey at three o'clock on the morning of the 12th, and very nearly got swamped in a deep dangerous ford at the "Fond aux Negres." The road altogether was very bad, and I felt very insecure in the gig. No accident, however, occurred, and we soon reached a succession of round, grass-clad hills, resembling the downs of Sussex, which belong to General Borgella, the present commandant at San Domingo, on which formerly there was a considerable sugar establishment ; but now they are exclusively devoted to herds of cattle. I am

surprised that there are not more grazing establishments in Western Haiti. The labour is such as would suit the habits of the people, and a profitable trade in cattle, hides, horns, and tallow, might be carried on. About nine o'clock we reached Acquin, where we met an English gentleman, Mr. Towning, who had been long resident at Cayes, and who had come thus far to meet us. He had also been provident enough to secure a resting-place and some food for us—two most important matters at Acquin, where there is no trace of an auberge.

This town was formerly of some consequence as a place of trade, but has been ruined by its port being closed—an act of the government brought about by the unlimited smuggling that was openly carried on with the connivance of the revenue officers.

The woman of the house where we put up was a young lively negress, who, it seems, had excited the amorous propensities of M. le Juge de Paix, who, failing in all his advances whether conciliatory or forcible, (in both of which he indulged,) had betaken himself to legal persecution, though with equally bad success; for the lady was obstinate, and I believe threatened to withdraw her countenance from Acquin, and leave the worthy magistrate to pine in hopeless

love. What was the result of this amorous combat I never heard, as I never inquired. An English police magistrate would make but a sorry figure, were he to adopt the Haitian "Juge" as a model.

After a very broiling ride through a romantic country, on a very tolerable road, we came to St. Louis, formerly the capital of the south; now only remarkable for the beauty of its situation, and the excellence of its harbour. The anchorage between a small island and the main land is first-rate, and capable of receiving the largest line-of-battle ships. This island was formerly very strongly fortified with sixty pieces of artillery; but in the year 1748 Admiral Knowles with a small squadron attacked and carried it, after which he blew up the works, and made a convention with the governor that the port should thenceforward be open to British men-of-war to wood and water. At present the fortifications are utterly ruined, and the wild Indian fig (*ficus Indicus*) threatens with its insinuating roots final destruction to the remaining walls. It was on this island that I first saw the sea-side grape, the fruit of which was unripe and tasteless.

I had been prepared, by Mr. Towning, for comfort in our accommodation at St. Louis, nor was

I disappointed. The inn is kept by M. Dumesle Lamotte, who holds the property which had belonged for some generations to his French ancestry. He is *really* married to his cousin, and is one of the most respectable men in manners, sentiments, and general character, that I had encountered in Haiti. He is also "Juge de Paix," and acquits himself, according to common report, with firmness and propriety, especially in repressing the unconstitutional and arrogant pretensions of the military, who here, as well as elsewhere in the republic, too often would fain be a privileged class.

The accommodation and fare are not inferior to that of most hotels in Europe, and superior to many provincial inns. We dined at a "table d'hôte," at which Monsieur and Madame Dumesle presided, and for all our board and lodging we only paid four dollars each per day.

In the evening we strolled along the beach to a ruined fort the south of the town, which, it seems, gave great offence to the old black commandant, who was not on terms with the civil authorities. To mark his reprobation of so atrocious an act as that of visiting a ruin, he sent a corporal to order us off, an order easily complied with, as there was little to be seen, and that little we had already seen.

Several evil reports are in circulation against the rural police of this neighbourhood, who are undisguisedly charged with robbing the poor cultivators of their coffee, under pretence of protecting them from penalties for breach of the law. Resistance had been recently made in some instances, though the final result was not known, as the question had been finally referred to the president for his decision.

On the morning of the 13th we left this exquisitely beautiful spot before daylight, and after travelling for some little time by the seaside, we struck across a small tongue of land to Cavillon; on the way to which we forded the river "des Ornagers," celebrated for the purity of its water, and the river Cavillon close to the town. The town is in ruins, and at the early hour at which we passed through it no one was to be seen except a few soldiers, who stopped some of the servants who were without passports; but they soon liberated them on hearing Mr. Towning's name. The road, like all that I had seen in the arrondissement of Acquin, is rugged and bad. A sudden improvement in this respect announced our arrival in the jurisdiction of Cayes, where General Marion's attention has done great things. We gradually descended from the

mountainous district in which we had been travelling for some hours, into the extensive and beautiful plain of Cayes, bounded by the sea, on the verge of which the city stands. The liveliness of the whole is peculiarly striking, and fully warrants the Haitians in describing the city and neighbourhood as "*tres riantes*." We arrived at Mr. Towning's hospitable mansion, about a mile and a half from Cayes, well broiled, and quite ready for an excellent breakfast that had been prepared for us.

The city of Cayes is situate close to the shore, and was built in its present form about 1720. The streets are tolerably regular, and though exposed and consequently bad in wet weather, are clear and without holes, such as disgrace the capital. The houses are also of a superior class, but generally of wood. The whole plain is considerably cooler than Port-au-Prince, and there is a regular sea-breeze; but from the plain being alluvial, there is considerable sickness in all directions. The entrance to the city is graced by a triumphal arch, in honour of the present president's entry some time ago. For some reason that I do not know, his excellency has not repeated his visit to the good and loyal city.

Very soon after the commencement of the

revolution in the north of Haiti, the people of colour of the south took up arms, and after various conflicts in 1792, they were sufficiently organized to constitute an efficient body, under the command of Andrew Rigaud, (better known as General Rigaud,) and his brother Augustin Rigaud. The former was recognized as a general by the civil commission, and he acted with zeal in concert with M. Blanchelande. In fact, he commanded one of the parties that attacked the "platons," of which I shall hereafter speak.

This city was afterwards the principal place of the coloured population under Rigaud, when they formed a party distinct from that at the head of which Toussaint had placed himself. Some fruitless attempts were made to reconcile these rivals by General Hedouville; but as the black party prevailed in 1800, Rigaud, with Petion, the present president Boyer, and others, sought refuge in France, and Toussaint was left in full possession of the north, the west, and the south.

To reduce the latter to complete subjection, he sent Dessalines with a strong force; and it is said that this sanguinary monster put to death upwards of ten thousand people of colour. With such recollections, it may be easily imagined that his memory is as odious as that of

Le Clerc or Rochambeau, in the theatre of his barbarous exploits. Rigaud on the other hand, from having been the chief of the predominant party, is revered in a degree corresponding with the hatred of his opponent. Rigaud came out to join Le Clerc's expedition; but the fidelity of his party having become doubtful, he was sent back to France, which was by all accounts the most injudicious act of all the ill-advised proceedings of the French commander-in-chief. Until 1810, Rigaud remained in France under the surveillance of the police. According to the statement of his friends, he then made his escape to America, whence he proceeded to Port-au-Prince. According to that of his opponents, the escape was feigned, and he came out as an emissary of Napoleon, for the purpose of re-establishing French dominion. Those who make this assertion also declare that he maintained a correspondence with the French minister at Washington, and that the evidence of the fact is complete. I never heard any thing more than bare allegations, and cannot even form an opinion. The president Petion, who had been Rigaud's adjutant-general, received him with apparent cordiality, though with real distrust; but entrusted him with a command at Cayes. Disagreements

soon took place, and a separation of the south from the west followed, and General Rigaud was placed at the head of a provisional government. Some attempts at an amicable adjustment of the differences of the two chiefs were equally unavailing, as some bloody encounters. About the end of 1811, Rigaud died, and General Borgella, who succeeded him, in a short time submitted to the rule of the president, thus re-uniting the two dissentient portions of the republic. Ever since the union has been undisturbed.

At present, Cayes is one of the most flourishing places that I have seen in the republic. There is considerable activity, and there are a few opulent merchants, both natives and foreigners; but the regulations affecting commerce have of late become so oppressive, that many of the latter had resolved not to renew their patents. I was not a little surprised at seeing the British flag flying on board a small sloop in the harbour, which I found to be from Jamaica;—with this island, as well as Cuba, there is said to be a considerable illicit trade; and what is most surprising, sugar is the principal import from the latter island.

I had but little intercourse with the great body of the people; but of the authorities I

saw a good deal, and I found them civil and accommodating. Many foreigners, however, do not regard them with favourable eyes, and accuse them of doing much that they ought not to do ; but of that I know nothing. With all classes, I was told that Great Britain is decidedly the favourite European power ; and I am inclined to think the statement true.

The great body of the town's-people appear to be in easy circumstances, and do not, I think, lounge quite so much as their brethren of Port-au-Prince. A circumstance occurred, which I noted as illustrative of the state of society. The town-adjutant (who holds the rank of captain, if I recollect aright) is moreover a professional cook, and generously contributes to the epicurean delights of all and any who call upon him, for a doubloon. In his former capacity he had called upon me in a gorgeous uniform of green and gold ; in the latter he was employed by my host, preparatory to his entertaining the magnates of the city ; and, to my utter surprise, after he had completed his labours, I saw him marched off between a file of soldiers. I was afraid that my friend had incurred the displeasure of the general, for degrading his military profession by reverting to his original calling, and made

anxious inquiries as to the cause of the phenomenon that had astonished me ; but great was my amazement on being informed that the aforesaid adjutant was very prone to get drunk after such hot work as that in which he had been engaged ; that the general had fixed a day or two after for entertaining his friends ; and to secure the assistance of the Ude of Cayes, he had marched him in safe keeping to his house in the country, before he had any opportunity of making himself “o’er all the ills of life victorious !”

The young men of Cayes are the dandies of the republic, and better mannered than the majority of their countrymen. Many of the young women are very pretty, and graceful in their forms.

The young part of the people in the outskirts appeared to me to spend the greatest portion of their time in dawdling about without any apparent object in view ; and I heard that the Creoles are decidedly idlers of the first class ; and that the only real work is done by the few surviving Africans, who, contrary to the habits of their progeny who crowd to the plains, retire to the mountains, where they cultivate some sequestered spot, unheeding, and unheeded by, the world.

The wayside of the avenue that leads to the principal entrance of the town, has many very neat suburban cottages, to which the more opulent citizens retire after the labours of the day have ceased. Their distribution renders the approach exceedingly lively, as they generally have some garden around them, and they are painted of as many colours as a Dutch summer-house.

Several small distilleries, "guildiveries" as they are called, are in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and they yield a large supply of tafia. They amount in number to eighty-one, and consume about two million pounds of syrup annually, which are converted into about one hundred and eighty thousand gallons of liquor, which is said to be entirely consumed in Cayes and the adjacent districts. This consumption is quite independent of the rum manufactured at Mr. Towning's establishment.

This consumption almost rivals that of what are termed in the advertisements in the Morning Advertiser, the hard gin-drinking parts of London.

CHAPTER IV.

Plantation Laborde—School at Cayes—Gauman—Sir James Yeo—Lapointe—General Marion's estate—Free Americans—Entertainment—L'Alliance—M. Dubreuil--Platons—Des-salines' discipline—Coffee culture—Plain of Cayes—Cultivation—Produce—Labourers—Interest of money—Maurice Larac—Inhuman conduct—Mr. Downie—Return from Cayes to Port-au-Prince.

I RODE out every day of my stay at Mr. Towning's, for some defined object, and of course inspected L'Habitation Laborde, which I believe originally belonged to the family of the well-known and accomplished Count Alexandre Laborde. It has the reputation of having been one of the most splendid properties in the colony. It subsequently fell into the possession of General Rigaud, and now belongs to his widow, who is the wife of M. Haran, an auctioneer at Port-au-Prince. Formerly, according to Moreau St. Mery, there were on it one thousand four hundred slaves, and one million two hundred thousand pounds

of clayed sugar were produced, besides other matters. People of authority in the plain assert that there were two thousand slaves, and the produce two million pounds of clayed sugar.

When I visited it, I found only the walls of two of the sugar works standing; the roof of the other was falling in as fast as possible. The dwelling-houses, which had been as elegant as substantial, entirely built of stone, were quite dilapidated. I did not see a cane, and around a few miserable negro huts there were a dozen or sixteen labourers hanging about, and I was told that they merely cultivated provisions for their own use. I also saw a few cattle, not exceeding twenty, grazing in the very extensive savannas of the estate.

The expense of irrigation throughout the entire plain must have been enormous; the remains of the aqueducts are really magnificent. That at Laborde is among the first in excellence that fell under my observation.

Several attempts have been made to engage some enterprising Englishmen to farm this property; but though the project has been very seriously entertained, it has been abandoned, on account of the impossibility of commanding sufficient labour for even a tithe of the

property. Indeed, it has been a favourite scheme with many of the proprietors to lease their land to foreigners, a scheme, however, that has been always defeated from the same cause, which will, I apprehend, prevail for a very long time throughout Haiti.

The plantations Walsh, Mery, Esmangart, and O'Sheil, which were before the revolution in the most flourishing state, are now utterly abandoned.

There is a school of mutual instruction in the city of Cayes, under the direction of M. George Cezar. At this academy there are one hundred pupils maintained at the expense of the state, and thirty-five at their own, who pay each three dollars per month to the instructor, who also receives seventy dollars per month as his salary from the government.

The objects of instruction are, according to a list furnished by M. Cezar himself:—Reading and writing, French, declamation, arithmetic, elements of geometry, algebra, sacred history, geography, logic, rhetoric, drawing, simple and double book-keeping, analysis, geometrical and logical, the historical catechism—an odd enough assemblage: whether successfully taught or not, I had no means of ascertaining.

All that I can answer for is, that the teacher professed infinite zeal in his calling.

I found the records of the trade at Cayes were imperfect : nothing relative to the subject in the early periods of the revolutions, and some very inaccurate returns during the years 1810, 1811, and a part of 1812. Since the presidency of General Boyer, the records have been more correct ; but it is unnecessary to say any thing of them here, as when I treat of the general commerce of Haiti, the individual details will be better discussed.

It was at one time contemplated by me to have visited Jeremie and Jacmel ; but on making inquiries, I learned that travelling was so exceedingly bad, that I determined on abandoning my design ; although I should have liked much to have examined how far the cultivation of cloves and other spices had been carried there, and what probability there was either of increase or decrease. The Jeremie district too has some attractions, from recollections of buccaniers, and from the fact that the first division of our ill-fated expedition, at the beginning of the revolution, landed there.

Among the fastnesses, a black lieutenant-colonel, named Gauman or Goman, in 1806, when

the republic was rent by internal divisions, had set himself up as a partisan of Christophe, but in reality as an independent chief, and had collected under his banners some hundred marauders, who kept the whole district in a state of feverish excitement, and most effectually checked any improvement. On the re-union of the south and western provinces, General Borgella and some other officers were sent with a strong force to dislodge Gauman; but for nine months he baffled them by his superior knowledge of the country, and the singular dexterity with which he destroyed all traces that could guide his pursuers. At last, in 1820, he was, I believe, surprised, and in attempting to escape, was shot, and the survivors of his party completely dispersed. His death is said to have been a very substantial benefit to the country, for he subsisted by plunder, and his existence could only be maintained by its being kept in a perpetual state of convulsion. The maintenance of so small a band of robbers for twelve years may be considered no small proof of the miserable state to which the resources of the republic had been reduced by unceasing dissensions.

During the separation of Cayes from Port-au-Prince, Sir James Yeo, then commanding the Southampton, captured a ship of war that

had originally belonged to Christophe, but had fallen into the hands of General Borgella's party. The vessel did not strike before the slaughter was immense, when it was taken possession of, on the ground that we recognised the flags of King Henry, and of the President Petion ; but that we knew nothing of any third power. The excitement in the city, on the news being known, was intense ; and, had it not been for the firmness of Generals Borgella and Faubert, the English residents would have been most probably murdered. So I was told by a British merchant, who had his life saved by having been sent to prison.

Among other matters of information, I heard a good deal of one Lapointe, who had been mayor of Arcahai, and is said to have held the commission of a general officer in our service. General Lacroix mentions this as a proof of the mode in which the British character had been degraded. This man, it is confessed, was a most profligate person, yet he had been an active, zealous, and useful partisan, in which capacity he had served with the army. Whether or not he ever held any regular commission, I could never determine, nor is it of any great moment ; but I believe he received a pension from the British Government, which he

was reduced, by his habits of profligate expenditure, to sell long prior to his death, which happened at Cayes, not very long before my arrival. He died in extreme want, dependent on the bounty of the English residents for the merest articles of first necessity. I much fear that there was much more expended uselessly than what Lapointe received ; though I believe that the late Sir Thomas Maitland was most successful in reforming the abuses that had prevailed previous to his administration ; and in effecting these reforms, he displayed the same firmness and right views of men and things, that characterised him afterwards, when acting on a more extensive field. His memory is regarded by many Haitians with great respect, though that respect is somewhat tempered by fear. I recollect a huge colonel boasting to me that he had had the honour of doing duty as a private grenadier at the government-house of Port-au-Prince, when General Maitland was there.

Having taken as correct a view of all that a stranger could judge of, during so short a stay as I could bestow on the south, I made preparations to see a little of the country ; and General Marion, on learning my wishes, offered

every facility, and as a further inducement, invited me and every person of consideration in Cayes to his estate in the country.

On the 22d of February, I visited, with a party both of foreigners and natives, the Estate Boutilier, in the ancient parish of Torbec, a few miles from the town of Cayes, formerly belonging to a French proprietor of that name, now the property of General Marion, the commandant of the arrondissement, and M. Daulbas, an opulent merchant in the city. From the resources of such an association, this is one of the most favoured estates in the plain. The road by which we travelled, though not quite so good as that from London to Greenwich, is very respectable ; and I travelled very comfortably in a two-horse cabriolet, which General Marion had provided for me. The house is as usual of wood, and consequently readily overheated in the full tide of the sun, which unfortunately shone in all his glory ; but the distribution of it was convenient and fitted for the comfort of all who are capable of enduring heat. While our entertainment was preparing, we surveyed the premises, and found the sugar-works, moved by water, in very good order ; the fences, though scarcely complete,

were good as far as they were finished ; and the few canes actually planted appeared to be healthy and flourishing.

The most interesting part of the whole exhibition to me, was a group of about sixty American negroes, who, having been liberated from the southern states by a society of quakers, had been bound for a term of years to General Marion. The general desired them, when congregated, to tell me freely, as I was an Englishman, all they thought and felt ; and as he did not understand one word of English, it is clear that they could have no fear of giving offence. The privilege conceded was liberally used, and although every person concurred in representing these people as orderly, laborious, and well conducted, each had some matter of personal complaint, and the general grievances were perfectly overwhelming. They were altogether a healthy set of black men, women and children, of the last of whom, for the benefit of the republic, there was a decided predominance. Wesleyan Methodism was the prevailing religious system, and one of their number was a preacher of that sect. Quakerism and anabaptism (if I may use such a word) hovered over the small remnant of the flock. The whole party had been better than eight months in Haiti ; they had nearly in-

closed the whole plantation, but had not yet begun that portion of their labours which was to them the most interesting ; viz. the cultivation of canes, as they were to have one fourth of the produce to be divided among themselves. Their lodgings were bad, in a sort of barrack ; but upon the whole they were tolerably well treated, being fed and clothed by the proprietors, whether to be eventually repaid or not was uncertain ; they complained, however, of want of medical attendance, and many were afflicted with ulcers in their legs, which they ascribed to the climate ; but most loud were their denunciations of their Haitian neighbours, whom they described as destroying their fences to admit their bullocks into their gardens, and as plundering them of their poultry and pigs ; so that it was absolutely necessary to keep a regular guard every night.

Some carreaux of canes were in cultivation, which are said to yield about sixty thousand pounds of syrup, that sell for from nine thousand to twelve thousand dollars. No sugar has yet been made : all the hopes of such a manufacture depend on the efforts of the American settlers.

In the course of conversation General Marion stated his belief to be, that the total amount of syrup produced in the plain was about one million five hundred thousand pounds ; that last year

(1826) it might amount to two millions of pounds, though this is not probable. Now it seems that two pounds of syrup yield about one pound of coarse Muscovado sugar, and about six ounces of common molasses. If the estimate be correct of the entire produce, the whole plain does not yield as much as one respectable estate did in 1789.

Our “dejeuner” was as usual profuse, amounting to what would be considered elsewhere waste, but such appears to be the system within the tropics.

Eating, drinking, and toasting, were very active, but I cannot recollect any incident worthy of record, beyond the remark of Colonel Poisson Paris, who, after having eaten as the French phrase runs “pour quatre,” on being rallied on his loss of appetite, replied with imperturbable gravity, “Oui, je ne fais que le simulacre de manger,” the exquisite absurdity of which so tickled one of the party, that he roared applause, which won for him the affectionate consideration of the colonel for the remainder of the day.

We had made arrangements to establish our head-quarters at a small cottage belonging to Mr. Towning and some of his friends, called by the appropriate name of L'Alliance. After leav-

ing Boutilier, on our way to our resting-place, we visited M. Dubreuil, a senator, considered to be one of the most intelligent men in the south. His cottage is in a beautiful mountain valley, hemmed in by mountains so as to form a complete amphitheatre. We made our arrangements for the following day, and returned and slept at L'Alliance, where we dined, and in despite of a most villanously huge black sand-fly and no curtains, I contrived to sleep. I got some good specimens of plants. The rock is chiefly limestone.

Early in the morning of the 23d, we rose betimes, and called on M. Dubreuil on our way to the Platon, so celebrated for its bloody trophies at the beginning of the contest in 1792. "Les Platons," as they are called, are the principal defile, (as the name indicates in Creole,) leading from the plain of Cayes, of the Mornes de la Hotte, which is one of the most lofty ranges in the island. The road to it was traced by the French, and is an excellent bridle way, sheltered from the sun by the large trees that cover the mountain side, but from its situation it is very liable to be destroyed, either by rain, or the falling down of some loose rock or tree; hence there is infinite facility to the defence of the position. The fortification called "les Pla-

tons," is only half finished, and is commanded by a neighbouring hill, which however is in its rear. It contains the tomb of General Gefrard, one of the early revolutionary leaders. The view is remarkably fine, embracing the whole plain, with the city and the Isle de Vache in the distance. From the east bastion Cayes lies S.S.E. The two rivers l'Acul and la Ravine are seen like small threads winding through the plain. In the midst of the fortress a huge bell is hung, to give an alarm in the event of any enemy's landing; one of our party accidentally sounded it, and direful was the alarm that was excited in an unfortunate national guard, who acted as our cicerone.

General Blanchelande met with a signal check in 1792, when he attempted to dislodge the insurgents who were there posted. The disobedience of the colonial troops contributed very much to the disaster. The Commissary Polvorel was more successful the following year, when he directed an attack to be made by the chef-de-brigade Harty. The post was carried with the utmost gallantry.

The works were, I believe, commenced by Dessalines, but were never completed, and now they can scarcely be said to be kept up. In a ruined barrack we took shelter from a heavy

thunder-storm, and exercised our jaws on some roast mutton, with which our provident host had supplied us.

In the course of this morning's ride, I remarked on the mountain side numerous small patches of land just cleared away, and small huts erected ; these belonged to the small proprietors who inhabited them. There was an air of infinitely more industry than I had noticed elsewhere. I also gathered a good deal of information respecting the past and present state of agricultural industry throughout this district, and as it was an important part of my duty to determine the real facts, I bestowed much consideration on them. And I shall now give the general result of my inquiries, not in the order in which I made my notes, but in the most condensed form of which the subject is susceptible.

When Polvorel proclaimed liberty to the slaves of the south, he issued his "*reglemens de la police sur la culture et les cultivateurs*," which I shall more fully treat of in a distinct chapter. These regulations were clearly compulsory. Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines rendered Polvorel's system more effective by practically augmenting the penalties, though the general avowed principles were the same.

The stick was freely used ; and one of the most trust-worthy of my informants assured me that he had seen abortion produced by the severity of the punishment inflicted by that monster Dessalines. Beating to death was no rare occurrence, and labouring in gangs was rigorously insisted upon. Of these facts no Haitian ever expressed a doubt to me.

After the return of Rigaud, and his assuming the government of the south, he is said to have resorted to the milder system of Polvorel, which was continued by his successor General Borgella ; and after the reunion of the south with Port-au-Prince, Petion's agrarian system was established, and now prevails, although the government has ceased to make farther grants. This system leads the negroes to the mountains, of which I saw the proofs, and consequently there arises a scarcity of labourers for large estates. At present, in the mountains the negroes are the chief labourers ; and coffee cultivation is preferred, both because it is light work, and because one man can manage a considerable number of trees without any aid.

Sugar requires combined and continuous labour as well as capital ; neither of which abound.

The mountain sides are covered with coffee-trees of spontaneous growth, which only need

clearing to make them most productive. My informant says that at least two-thirds of the coffee cultivated is lost for want of labour. I was startled at the returns stated by M. Dubreuil, namely, that good trees would yield from five to six pounds ; but the average, he said, was good at two pounds. He had made an experiment on one hundred trees around his own house, which were tended by his own family ; and he found, by the care bestowed, nine hundred pounds were produced, which is enormous. The same individual stated as his opinion, that the people of the mountains are improving in industry, though still indolent, and excessively addicted to Obeah. In this remote district there are no public schools ; but the respectable person of whom I have already spoken had established one, taught by a Frenchman, for the benefit of about twenty poor relations, orphans. I saw the school-room and the schoolmaster's residence, which were pretty and neat, on the banks of a refreshing stream. Perhaps I admired them more than I might otherwise have done, from the feeling of respect inspired by the founder, who is one of the most unpretending men I have ever met.

In the course of conversation with M. Dubreuil, he expressed his conviction that the

people were satisfied with the form of government, though from their ignorance they were liable to be misled. I never met a more perfect anti-gallican than he was. He stated shortly, that, as the son of a Frenchman, his natural predilections were in favour of France ; but that he had witnessed the perfidies of Le Clerc and Rochambeau, and that he had become a decided enemy to every thing French.

Apart from M. Dubreuil, my information amounts to what I have stated in my report to Lord Dudley, of which I extract the following passages :

“ According to Moreau St. Mery, in 1789, the plain of Cayes, one of the finest in the island, was divided into two parishes—that of Cayes, and that of Torbeck. They contained at that period one hundred flourishing sugar-plantations, which were calculated to yield annually from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty thousand casks of Muscovado sugar, the weight of which unfortunately is not stated in pounds, so that the absolute amount cannot be given.

“ At present the whole of these hundred plantations are still partially planted in canes, of which, however, no care whatever is taken. About seventy-five of them have either water or cattle-

mills for grinding the cane, with boiling-houses ; but generally of a most wretched construction, and in miserable condition. The boiling-houses in general are formed by a shed made against the old walls, which, during the revolution, it required too much labour to destroy. The canes produced on the remaining twenty-five plantations are transported to those that have mills, and one-fourth of the sirup or molasses produced is allowed for the use of the mill. The whole of these estates are, more or less, in a dismembered condition, from the small grants made by the government to the military of from five to thirty carreaus, and from similar sales having been effected by many of the large proprietors. The parties purchasing are called 'Concessionaires,' and generally plant small patches of canes, which they grind at the estate to which the land formerly belonged, or at some other neighbouring property.

"It is estimated that there are about five hundred carreaus in canes, in a wretched state of cultivation, in the whole plain of Cayes. The land is never manured, and scarcely ever weeded, and only a part of each year's produce is converted into molasses. This arises principally from idleness ; to which may be added the depredations of cattle, owing to bad fences,

and the almost total impossibility of repairing sugar-works, from a want of workmen, and the bad faith of all parties concerned.

“About 2,000 hogsheads of raw sugar, of 1,000 pounds each, may be considered the average quantity produced by those estates; but it fluctuates very much; one year perhaps exceeding the average considerably, and the following year decreasing to almost nothing.

“The average produce of sirup in the plain of Cayes is about 2,000,000 pounds annually; but in consequence of the unusually favourable season of 1826, 3,000,000 pounds was produced; and about 200 casks of sugar, of 200 pounds each (of very bad quality), procured from the granulations of the sirup, and afterwards put into flour-barrels to drain.

“The sugar not being sufficient for the consumption of Cayes, about the same quantity is annually smuggled into that part of the island from Cuba. This is actually less than was produced from one estate (Laborde's), in the plain of Cayes, during the time of the French. Few of the plantations make more than from three to four hogsheads of sirup per week, and that generally at distant periods; very few having the power, from want of manual labour, of grinding canes two or three weeks in succession.

“ Nearly the whole of the molasses is purchased by the distillers (the proprietors being generally too poor to erect distilleries on their own plantations), and principally converted into tafia (an inferior spirit), 4,500 hogsheads of which, with 600 hogsheads of rum of 60 gallons each, were made in 1826.

“ The whole of those spirits are consumed either in the immediate neighbourhood, or sent into the interior, or coastways to Port-au-Prince and other ports. None of them are exported for foreign use.

“ The very little field labour effected is generally performed by elderly people, principally old Guinea negroes. No measures of the government can induce the young creoles to labour, or depart from their habitual licentiousness and vagrancy. The whole body of proprietors constantly lament the total incapacity of the government to enforce labour.”*

In reply to inquiries I made respecting corporal punishments, I have the following answers :

“ The laws recognise no other punishment

* The language used is not my own, but that of my informants; and it is marked as a quotation in the reports laid before Parliament. It is right to add that the individuals who gave this statement, are deeply interested in the prosperity of the Republic.

than fine and imprisonment with hard labour, although it is no uncommon thing to see the soldiery and military police use the 'plat de sabre' and cocomacac (a species of heavy jointed cane,) in a most arbitrary and sometimes cruel manner; but almost always, from the natural obstinacy of the negro, without the intended effect.

"The few young females that live on plantations seldom assist in any labour whatever, but live in a constant state of idleness and debauchery. This is tolerated by the soldiery and military police, whose licentiousness is gratified by this means."

From these combined causes I learned, from the same respectable sources from which the foregoing statements were derived, that the value of land is very small, varying from 24 to 100 dollars per carreau, or $2\frac{9}{16}$ acres. In some few cases 200 dollars have been given. Rent also varies. It is, however, rare that estates are farmed out in the neighbourhood of Cayes. Small properties of from 5 to 10 carreaux, with a few negro huts, are let at an annual rent of 40 to 100 dollars. Larger ones of 100 or 200 carreaux, from 400 to 800 dollars per annum.

Money is lent at 75 per cent. per annum.

This information was abundantly confirmed

by all the personal inquiries that I made in every quarter.

Coffee is cultivated in the vicinity of Cayes, and small patches present themselves to the traveller in visiting the mountains; but the quantity produced is small in proportion to the extent of fruitful soil; for I find, from the two returns from Cayes for 1824 and 1825, that the coffee exported in the former year amounted only to 11,157,411 pounds, and that in the following year it fell off to 7,135,901 pounds.

After a farewell to L'Alliance, we rode back to Mr. Towning's house, and took in our way the estate Agard, to which we had been invited by Colonel Paris, the proprietor. We found the establishment respectable; but the labour was inadequate. The colonel told me that he had made fifty flour barrels of sugar, (each about two hundred pounds weight) the year before; but that they were not then sold. He added that he made 60,000 weight of 'sirop,' which was seriously doubted. Yet this was one of the best estates in the plain under the old regime.

The whole of the 24th I employed either in taking leave of my acquaintance, or in noting such matters as might be more leisurely answered by them at a future period. In the

course of the day I heard two anecdotes, which, whether true or false, serve to illustrate the history of the country. The first I believe to be true, and I hope, for the honour of humanity, that the last is false.

Now for my redeeming story. There is one Maurice Larac, a man of colour, now living (at least in 1827) at Cayes, and a considerable proprietor. During the revolutionary struggle, when the natural children of proprietors succeeded on the deaths (however procured) of their white fathers, a bloodthirsty party attacked the house of M. Larac's father, for the purpose of putting him to death as a white Frenchman. At the moment of the attack, the son was at the threshold, and declared that, to reach his father, it would be necessary to pass over his dead body. His firmness succeeded, and he conveyed his parent in safety beyond the reach of the assassins, and has ever since supported him to the utmost of his ability. I was told that the old gentleman was at Cayes when I was there; but of that I know nothing with certainty.

In contrast, I give the other tale, but as I hope it is false, I shall give no names; though the parties were said to be alive at the time of the narration.

Two natural sons of two respectable Frenchmen, resident in St. Domingo, knowing the new law of succession to which I have already adverted, wished to become proprietors of the family estates; but having some small tincture of humanity, and consequent objection to parricide, this proposition was made, “*tue le mien (père), et je tuerai le tien;*” and, sad to tell, this was done, and the worthies ranked as landed proprietors.

After all the hospitality and kindness of my friends at Cayes, I was reluctant to part from them; but it was necessary that I should do so, and in spite of the pressing invitations of M. Raganean de la Chenaye, the French consul, and others, I arranged to leave a town with which I had so much reason to be satisfied, early on the 25th. My host was unable to accompany me; but Mr. Downie, whose long residence rendered him an invaluable guide to the feelings, views, and tendencies of the people, (but who has, I lament to add, fallen, after the period of which I speak, a victim to heart-rending disappointment,) was kind enough to offer to accompany me. The offer I grasped at, and it will ever be one of my lasting regrets that so valuable a man should have been lost, when a little effort might in all human pro-

bability have saved him. I saw little of Mr. Downie, but that little convinced me that his principles were good, his intelligence very superior, and the kindness of his heart unbounded. I now regret that I saw so little of him. There are, I believe, some who survive him, that do honour to his memory, and to them this honest tribute may not be displeasing, however unavailing it may be in essentials. It may be a consolation to those who loved poor Downie, to know that, although he has left no splendid monument to record his last resting-place, there is at least one hand ready to render justice to those amiable and intellectual qualities, that, under fairer aspects, would have made him an object of envy to many who now "strut their fretful hour" on a stage for which nature has less eminently qualified them.

Mr. Downie was ready before day-break; but rain interfered, and I was very glad of an extra half-hour's sleep. We however had an early breakfast, and although now exposed to the sun, I had the advantage of seeing the country better than I had done, when passing through it in the imperfect twilight of my former transit. We resumed the old road to Cavaillon and St. Louis, and I was struck,

as soon as we got out of the immediate bounds of the city, with the appearance of absolute want of habitation or cultivation. Indeed the whole way to Cavaillon, and thence to St. Louis, there was scarcely a solitary hut by the road. It is probable that there may be many in the woods, where I understand the negroes are fond of erecting their dwellings. A few cleared patches occurred; but the general character of the country was that of an uninhabited district. We took up our abode again with M. Dumesle at St. Louis, and found our favourable impressions quite confirmed.

There was some excitement at this time in the town, owing to the *ci-devant* member for it having forged a number of signatures to a petition against the "Juge de Paix." The matter had been taken up warmly, and been referred to the President, whose decision I never knew.

On the 26th we retraced our steps to Acquin, where we found General Bergerac Trichet absent, and there parted with Mr. Downie. The country is in a state of apparent abandonment.

When riding along, a countryman on horseback overtook me, and finding that I was an Englishman, entered into a series of queries as to the progress of the negotiation between

Great Britain and Haiti ; of all these matters I professed the most perfect ignorance. The poor fellow expressed great anxiety that the arrangements should be made, as the only means of saving the country from the rapacity of France. The hatred in the south to the mother country is as strong as it is undisguised.

We returned to "Trois Palmistes," and were told that, in that neighbourhood, "brigandage" was general as well as idleness, and that the "code rural" did not work at all. I did not see or hear of any outrage beyond petty larceny ; the idleness was obtrusively obvious.

The following day brought us to the hospitable residence of M. Baudain at Petit Goave ; but the exposure to the sun had brought on so smart an attack of fever, that I was scarcely able to note that, being "Mardi gras," the whole town was busy with a sort of carnival. A warm bath and bed were more tempting, even at mid-day, than witnessing the sports, that inspired every one else with glee. The favorite masquerade was that of women appearing as men.

The relief afforded from fever by the bath enabled both my brother and myself to recommence our journey on the 28th, and we did

so, pursuing the same route by which we had previously travelled. In crossing the Tapion, I was even more struck than I had formerly been with its picturesque beauty, which was peculiarly favoured by the gradual bursting of daylight, and as we were sheltered, long after the sun had risen, from his fiercer rays by the foliage and the precipitous sides of the mountain, our enjoyment was greatly enhanced. We passed through Grand Goave, and once more found ourselves at Leogane, in the coffee-house in which we had formerly found imperfect shelter and refreshment.

On arriving there, I found one of the gentlemen attached to my office, awaiting my arrival with despatches from England, which renewed my leave to return home ; but though by no means well, and anxious to do so from private considerations, I felt that, having done so much in my inquiries, I was bound, at any sacrifice of personal interests or feelings, to complete the task I had undertaken. I therefore pursued my way, and reached my residence in the country near Port-au-Prince, quite satisfied that travelling in Haiti is very different from similar operations, in which the "Gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease," ever indulge.

CHAPTER V.

Stay at Port-au-Prince—Election of members of House of Commons—Explosion of arsenal—Defects of police—Mr. Gordon—Mr. Everaerts—M. Godard—Aggressions of cattle—Prosecution of M. Courtois—Rumours of insurrection—Education—Diplomas—Post-office—Departure for St Mark's—Gonaives—Amusing officer—Toussaint—St. Mark's—Petite Rivière—Crête à Pierrot—Hill-forts—Marchand—Insurrection in 1820—Gourmands of Haiti.

AT Port-au-Prince I remained thirteen days, in preparing for the prosecution of my journey round the island, in completing whatever public matters had fallen into arrear, and in making up such notes as I had only briefly recorded on former occasions. The latter part of my task I found peculiarly irksome; for the intensity of the heat rendered exertion exceedingly painful, and to the physical disinclination to mechanical effort was superadded a desire, perhaps carried too far, to record, with undeniable fidelity, all that I noticed. Whatever I did notice may be de-

pended upon, for though I registered much, I do not here record by a great deal what I did see. Without any particular order, I shall now notice some matters connected with the capital that have been hitherto passed over.

In consequence of some misconception of the President's proclamation for the election of members of the Chamber of Commons, the elections took place generally in December, 1826, instead of the following month. The capital, however, was correct, and did not exercise its right of election until the prescribed day. This city returns three regular members and three supernumeraries, as in Spain during the constitution, and as is now the case in Mexico.

Universal suffrage is the law of the land, founded on the Haitian Magna Charta, if I may so designate the constitution of 1806, revised in 1816, and now the apparent rule of proceeding. The only individuals who cannot vote, are those under judicial sentence, ideots, or menial servants.

Trusting to this law, the American emigrants, who are adopted citizens, proposed to elect, as one member, a methodist preacher, one of their number, and for that purpose proceeded in a body to the church, (where the elections take

place,) and it was reported to me that they were entered in at one door and civilly handed out of the opposite one, without having been allowed a solitary vote.

The first candidate was elected without any opposition; the second was proposed by the government, and he of course was chosen; but some doubts were raised as to the validity of the election; for although there were more than one opposing candidate, the singular phenomenon had occurred, of there being five more votes in his favour than there were voters present. This apparent inconsistency did not affect the proceedings; and only one individual ventured to make some observations on the miraculous excess of votes. He had scarcely begun to speak, when so loud a clamour was raised that he was glad to run off, which he literally did “*au grand pas*,” and it is added, by the historian of his glories, that he actually did not stop until he found himself safe among his household gods, at a distance of half a mile from the scene of tumult.

The party which had so successfully discomfited our hero, emboldened by success, determined to pursue still further their *ingenious* and simple expedient, and when the votes were collected for the next candidate, also on

the government interest, he was declared the sitting member, in consequence of having *twenty* votes more than there were voters present.

I was not present at this strange exhibition ; but I have faithfully recorded the statements made to me by various persons at various periods. Ballot is the mode of election employed, which of course facilitates the proofs of double voting.

A representation was said to be made to the President of these irregularities ; but he is reported to have declared his utter disbelief of the statement made : and as I never heard of a reference in such a case in Haiti to an election committee, I believe that the two honourable members were assured of their seats until the dissolution of the parliament.

Such an occurrence naturally leads to reflections on the expediency of the semblance of a popular representation in an unformed community, and from what I have seen among these people, as well as on the continent of America, (I mean among the new republics,) I confess that I entertain very serious doubts of its compatibility with the permanent advancement of the community at large.

Among other hitherto unrecorded events, I

had passed over the destruction of the arsenal, a large building in the midst of the town close to the water-edge. The incautious striking an iron hoop with an iron hammer, over a barrel of gunpowder, is reported to have produced the explosion. I had, early on the morning of the 2nd of February, received a bag from England, and while busied with its contents, sitting in the gallery of my residence, which overlooked the city, my attention was solicited by a distant explosion, followed by a mass of dense smoke, which, on clearing away, fully explained the nature and extent of the calamity. I instantly went down, and applying to the masters of the British vessels in port, they cheerfully adopted my suggestion of placing their crews at the disposal of the government, and for a time they were very useful. The crews of the French men-of-war also rendered very good service, and contributed very essentially to the extinction of the fire. It was very fortunate that the sea breeze did not set in until the flames were nearly extinguished; for had it done so, the whole town must have been laid in ashes. As it was, the loss was great, being estimated at a million of dollars; for although the quantity of gunpowder was small, there was a large assortment of army clothing, can-

non, bomb-shells, muskets, and sabres, that were entirely destroyed. Occasional reports of cannon were heard, proceeding from the artillery, which it was said had been loaded, and had remained so from the time of Christophe's last siege in 1812.

After the fire, there were several attempts to burn the town, no doubt made by needy adventurers to profit by the plunder, which could not be effected at the arsenal. Several suspected persons were arrested for the offence, but I never heard that any punishment was inflicted. For some time there was great and well-founded apprehension, that the incendiaries would have persevered until they had succeeded. Several lives were lost in the explosion; and I believe that the President had scarcely left the building more than ten minutes before the accident happened. The building was reduced to an unseemly mass of ruins.

In some of my former notices, I have hinted at the defects of the police system. Several instances of this kind occurred at different times, which may as well be now stated in a continuous form. One of His Majesty's acting vice-consuls, the late Mr. Charles Gordon, had been dining with me in the country at

M. Maler's, and we had returned to town about ten o'clock on the evening of the 1st of July. My house was a few hundred yards from Mr. Gordon's lodgings, to which he went immediately after having placed his horse in the stable. He had scarcely left my door, when a party of black soldiers laid hold of him, under the pretext that he was found in the street after ten o'clock at night without a lantern, contrary to the police regulations, of which not one of us knew any thing. These ruffians threatened to drag Mr. Gordon to prison; and when they found him an unresisting victim, they robbed him of all the money he had, and they parted. Early on the following morning the affair was reported to me—the details were laid before the government—and though much vigilance was professed to be used in tracing the culprits, they were never detected; and I believe that their impunity was owing to the fact that they belonged to the black and most numerous part of the population. But, unfortunately, the unredressed assault on Mr. Gordon is only one of various offences committed against the persons of foreigners, without any remedy.

On the 31st of October, 1826, the Dutch consul Everaerts, when quietly riding through

the streets, accompanied by Commodore de Melay, and some other French gentlemen, was violently assaulted and abused by the ex-adjutant of Port-au-Prince, St. Roume, who afterwards violently forced his way into the house of a French merchant, named Godard, and assaulted him with equal violence.

M. Everaerts made immediate complaint to the President on his own behalf, and the French consul-general made another on the behalf of his countrymen. The most ample reparation was unhesitatingly promised, and I have been told that General Inginac volunteered an assurance that the delinquent should be sent to Samana, a place of banishment at the north-eastern part of the Island. St. Roume was accordingly arrested, but in two or three days he was bailed by a senator, *the brother of the commissary of the government*, the government law-officer; and on the case being brought before the tribunal, the judges declared their incompetence, on some technical ground, to decide; and the first use made by St. Roume of his acquittal, was to seek out and to insult Mr. Everaerts. A second representation was made to the government, which produced unbounded promises of redress; but none ever followed. Comment on such facts is un-

necessary, as the inferences are clear and obvious.

So much for insults to public officers of friendly powers. Let us now look to more domestic policy, if I may so distinguish it. The "Code Rural" imposes penalties on the proprietors of cattle who permit their animals to stray and injure the fences of their neighbours ; while it stoutly prohibits the slaying of any four-footed offenders, except pigs and goats. It so happened, as one of the penalties of my sins, that near to my cottage a large number of the government bullocks were brought every evening, after having discharged their duties to the state, under the care of " M. le gardien des bœufs," to an open space near to my cottage. The place into which these hungry animals were put had little grass, and was uninclosed, so that they naturally dashed at the nearest field that held out any inducement, which happened to be mine. Night after night my fences were destroyed, my grass not merely eaten, but trodden under foot. I represented my case first to " M. le gardien," next to the captain of the rural police, the already celebrated Captain Taurau, and lastly to the government: the evil still continued. At last I betook myself to practising at the bullocks, and in fact used them

as targets. This was successful, and every evening I saw my friend "M. le gardien" scudding round my fences, to warn his erring flock from so dangerous a neighbourhood. I regretted the violation of any law; but I had no alternative, and I do not think that the course I pursued gave any offence.

A very remarkable proceeding occurred at Port-au-Prince in the month of January, and as I think it marked the then subsisting relations between the government and the people, I shall note it. The editor of the only print, except the Government Gazette, M. Courtois, put forth an article of considerable virulence against foreigners,—an article that might have been considered a preliminary to their expulsion. This produced so strong a sensation, that the government resolved on prosecuting him, as did a private lawyer, who considered himself also injured by the publication. The paper was suppressed, the editor was arrested and held to bail, and proceedings formally commenced against him at the instance of the two aggrieved parties.

The day of trial was postponed from that on which it had been first fixed, and the commissary of the Court of Cassation, who was married to a relation of the President, resigned his office to defend his friend, and still more extra-

ordinary, Colonel Rigaud, the chief of the engineer department, and the son of the celebrated revolutionary chief, stepped forward as a defender of the accused, which may be done by others than professional men in Haiti.

I was present at the proceedings, and although there could not be a doubt of the libellous tendency of the publication, M. Courtois was acquitted, a result that he had fully anticipated, as he had engaged a party to dine with him; and the celebration of his acquittal took place within an hour of the event. This event was strongly contrasted with some other public transactions in the most recent history of the republic. Various solutions have been offered, but as I know not the accuracy of any, I shall abstain from recording those that reached my ears; for even though they might be true, I do not imagine they will establish any one well-defined position.

During the latter part of my residence in Haiti, there were constant rumours of some rising in the country, though the object was never sufficiently defined to enable me to determine the probability of its taking place. Still they affected my plans very seriously, by keeping me stationary at the capital, when the public objects might have been equally well served, and

my own individual views most decidedly promoted, by having been sooner enabled to have returned to that home which I had most reluctantly left.

The rumours of insurrection continued rife, but they all ended in mere rhetorical flourishes; and I do not now believe more was ever seriously contemplated, even by the most vehement declaimer in the utmost fervour of declamation; for the more I have reflected on the character of the people and the history of the revolution, the more thoroughly have I been impressed with the conviction that all classes are sated with blood, and that they (with few exceptions) would endure much wrong rather than have the wretched scenes renewed, that have almost identified the name of Haiti with that of inhuman atrocity. I watched with care how far this feeling operated in the capital and elsewhere; and I am persuaded that a discreet government might, at least in the tone of mind that prevailed in 1826 and 1827, do any thing with the people, except indeed to make them systematically industrious, or lovers of France.

At Port-au-Prince the government has certainly given evidence of its conviction of the advantages that *must* result from education—

at least I may speak of the external indications. According to the law, education may be undertaken either by foreigners or natives, who have received the sanction of the permanent commission of education, established at certain points. There are eight such courts, as I believe they may be called, at Port-au-Prince, Cayes, Jeremie, Jacmel, Cape Haitian, La Vega, St. Marc, and Santo Domingo.

The Lycée and all the primary schools are at the charge of the government ; all other seminaries are at the risk of those who establish them. The first-named of these establishments, the Lycée, was founded by Petion, on the model of the institution so named at Paris. The first object was to provide for the offspring of meritorious citizens, who had left them without provision. The President can also admit a deserving pupil of any of the primary schools protected by the government. Boarders and day-scholars may also be received by the professors. The professed objects of instruction are the ancient and modern languages, rhetoric, logic, ethics, the elements of mathematics and physic, ancient and modern history, geography, and drawing. There are of course a due proportion of professors ; but

how far they can acquit themselves with benefit to their pupils, I cannot say; and as little am I informed, in despite of considerable exertion to acquire knowledge, of the number of pupils.

The Commission, or I believe it should be Anglicized the Education Committee, at Port-au-Prince is very respectable, and General Inginac is the president.

Besides the establishments paid by the government, there are some private ones, and among others one for females, taught by an American lady, who had no inconsiderable share of patronage.

But there are higher aspirations in "la belle Capitale." There is an hospital: the President confers degrees in medicine; and there is a school of medicine, of which the professor is a French physician named Dr. Civet. I have already remarked the difficulty of placing the medical students in their proper place at the "Fête d'Independence," and I may add that they appear a very respectable set of young men. One of them is an African captured in a Spanish slaver by a Haitian vessel named the Wilberforce, and I was told that he is among the most acute and

intelligent of all the pupils. There was an examination of these young persons, at which I should have attended had I been apprized of it in time. I once saw a diploma, or licence, from the President to an English surgeon, to practise as a “*medicin*,” and I regret that I did not take a copy of it, as it did not resemble any document for a similar object that I ever had seen.

There is no ordinary share of pomp in every public act; even an auctioneer’s license assumes the form of a commission, being duly preceded by a letter from the President; and lest I should be suspected of either misconception or misrepresentation, I shall here give formal copies, which were made from the originals :—

“ Port-au-Prince, 20 Juin, 1819.

“ Jean Pierre Boyer, Président d’Haiti.

“ En conformité de la loi du 15 Mai dernier, sur l’organisation des tribunaux, qui établit pour la Capitale trois Encanteurs publics;—connoissant, citoyen, votre *moralité*, votre *probité*, et votre *dévouement* à la république, je vous préviens que je vous ai choisi pour Encanteur public dans le ressort du Tribunal Civil séant en cette ville, à la charge par vous

de satisfaire aux conditions imposées par la loi.

“ La présente lettre vous servira pour exécuter la dite charge, en attendant qu’une commission dans les formes vous soit expédiée.

(Signé) “ BOYER.”

No. 12.

“ Nous Jacques Ignace Fresnel, Grand Juge.

“ Vu la décision de S. E. portant nomination du citoyen ——— à la place d’Encanteur public pour la ville de Port-au-Prince :

“ Mandons et ordonnons, que la dite nomination soit transcrite sur le registre du Greffe du Tribunal Civil séant en cette ville ; et à sa prestation de serment en tel cas requis du susdit commissaire, qui devra déposer sa signature au dit Greffe—

“ Chargeons le Commissaire du Gouvernement près le dit Tribunal de l’exécution du présent mandement.

“ Donné à Port-au-Prince, le 14 Juin, 1819, an 16 de l’Indépendance.

“ Pour copie conforme au registre de commission,

(Signé) “ FRESNEL.”

I give these copies, not on account of any

importance attached to them, but as specimens of the art of magnifying trivial matters into a preternatural importance. The reasons assigned by the President for his choice are good—the morality, probity, and loyalty, of the individual selected. I fancy that elsewhere such rigorous terms are not exacted. The individual whose merits are thus recorded was a very civil obliging person.

Among the various attempts at arrangements that have been made, there are none that have so decidedly failed as those for the post-office service. I believe that the plan has been well digested, but the executive details are most defective. From what cause this proceeds, I do not venture to say; but for the fact I vouch. As an instance, I may cite what happened to myself. The distance from Jacmel is only about seventy miles, and on one occasion, when my letter-bag from England had been entrusted to the regular mail, it was twenty days on the road. And yet I believe this is a point on which the government is most exceedingly anxious. It is, I apprehend, only one of the many proofs that might be adduced of the difficulty attendant on the introduction of customs familiar to old communities, among those that

have been prematurely hurried through the earlier stages of political existence.

By the morning of the 14th March, having finished all that I had planned before recommencing my tour, I determined to do so without delay; and, judging from the progress I had previously made, I calculated that I should have finished my labours in about two months more. That I miscalculated will be hereafter seen.

There being nothing of particular interest on the road from Port-au-Prince to St. Mark's, by the way of Arcahai, and it being described as deep and sandy, I determined to avoid it, especially as I had so recently suffered from exposure to the sun; and accordingly despatching my guide and animals to St. Mark's, I embarked in His Majesty's ship *Harlequin*, in which my friend Captain Charles Elliott had, with his usual attention, offered to convey me to that city. We sailed at midnight on the 14th March, favoured by the land breeze; but as it slackened, and we had to beat against the sea breeze, it was impossible to land before the following midnight. We therefore proceeded to Gonaïves, from which it was easy to pass by land to St. Mark's, and all the places worth

seeing in the neighbourhood. Our expectations were realised, for we were on shore early in the forenoon of the 16th, at Gonaives, where we were hospitably received, and lodged at the house of two English merchants established there.

From the day of landing to the 18th I employed myself in looking around me. Gonaives was formerly a place of importance, on account of its salt-works, the labourers of which were a formidable body, and played a conspicuous part at one period of the revolution, under the Marquis Borel. The country is low and sandy, and is chiefly devoted to the cultivation of cotton; but here, as in the south, the complaints of idleness and want of hands were never ending. Date-trees grow here to considerable perfection, and produce, according to my informants, very good fruit; which, however, I did not see. There are some pleasant rides in various directions, one leading to the estate and residence of Toussaint L'Ouverture, at the time of his seizure by the French. It was one of the very few sugar estates, if not the only one, in this district. The works, which were substantial and good, are now in a state of ruin. An old superintendent and his wife live in one of the remaining buildings. It still retains the name "Quartier L'Ouverture."

I called, the day of my arrival, on the general commanding the arrondissement, a black officer, who had, I believe, served throughout the revolution. He was not at home, and I left my card; which I afterwards heard was a matter of utter amazement to him, the purport of which he could not, by any possibility, be made to understand. He, however, seemed to have a faint glimmering that it might be expected of him to entertain me; but as such a feat entailed charges, although he affected to have been confined by lameness, he suddenly discovered that his presence was necessary in some distant part of his district, and fairly absconded. I mention this as the only instance that occurred to me, during my tour, of even the appearance of a want of hospitality.

Among my other visitors, I was particularly amused by a mulatto colonel, who was most anxious to be civil. He generally dropped in before nine in the morning; and, after having taken a dram, became very voluble in discussing his own merits, as well as those of his contemporaries. One morning, after having worked himself into a state of admiration of his own performances, he proceeded to strip himself, to show the scars of eleven gun-shot wounds which he had received in various con-

flicts with the French ; and he added, in a tone of exultation, “ Je vous assure, Monsieur, que je suis le plus brave des tous les mulatres de ce pays ci ! ” To these important details he added the fact, that he had as many children as wounds, and hinted that, if properly encouraged, he would contribute very essentially to the much wanted increase of the population. I was afterwards informed that, in spite of his vain-glorious propensities, this person is really a man of courage. He gave an anecdote, which is strongly characteristic of the inefficiency of the laws, to which so much is ascribed by those who know nothing of Haiti. The Grand Marshal of Haiti, under Christophe, was an old African, named Paul Romain, who had been imported as a slave, after having attained manhood, before the revolution. He appears to have been a man of considerable mental power, of which he afforded no mean evidence, by having acquired the art of writing well and correctly at an advanced time of life. I have seen some specimens, which were very good. Under his sovereign he had been created Prince de Limbé, and was commander-in-chief of the army in the neighbourhood of St. Mark at the time that Christophe shot himself. After the

revolution, he reverted to the style and title of General Romain; and being implicated in some revolutionary schemes with Richard (the *ci-devant* Duke de Marmalade), he was sent a prisoner on parole to Leogane, under the surveillance of the general commanding there. After some time he was killed by a party of soldiers, commanded by the worthy colonel, from whom I had the account. The government version is, that Romain, then eighty years of age, had renewed his communications with the disaffected, at the head of whom he had made arrangements for placing himself; and on being ordered into confinement, had resisted, and was *unfortunately* slain. The other edition, from the chief actor was, that the general commanding at Leogane, acting on orders received from the palace of the government, directed him to pick a quarrel with the old chief, and to massacre him; which he did, as he asserted, in the true spirit of military subordination. The President loudly disclaimed all participation in this odious assassination; and the colonel declares that he was made the scape-goat, and sent to Gonaives to repent at leisure.

In Gonaives itself, the traces of a consider-

able building, which Toussaint had erected as his palace, are to be seen. In the town there are several of his relatives ; and I believe that the wife of his son Isaac L'Ouverture, (now resident either in Bourdeaux or its neighbourhood,) was there for the purpose of settling some of their affairs. The French government, or rather Napoleon, has been charged with having secretly made away with this individual. The allegation is utterly unfounded.

Some little coffee is produced at the heights a short distance from the sandy plains of Gonaives. There is an Italian priest resident, who is also the vicar-general of the district. He appeared an unpretending man, but certainly did not seem fit to rank with the Molières, Marinis, and other confidential counsellors of Toussaint.

Gonaives is a most unpleasant residence : the loose sand, charged with saline particles, is in constant motion, and penetrates the slight wooden-houses, so as even to load writing-paper to such a degree as to impede writing. The slightest wind, instead of refreshing, thus becomes a source of annoyance to the eyes and lungs. The houses are in the same style with those of the other towns I had previously

visited, low, seldom exceeding two stories, built of wood, with a large sitting-room that opens to the street, and the sleeping apartments above and behind, with a yard intervening between the main house and the kitchen and other offices.

The houses of the poorer classes are all equally bad, and I should think uninhabitable, being perfect lanthorns; so much so that a person on the outside can hear with great correctness all that passes within—a circumstance peculiarly unfavourable to the little intrigues that prevail, and which has on more than one occasion led to very unsatisfactory consequences to the suspected. The scandalous stories in circulation are, as might be expected, very plentiful, but they are all of a ludicrous character.

Early on the morning of the 18th, accompanied by one of the gentlemen at whose house I stayed, I made my way by a retrograde movement to St. Mark's, over the road to Port-au-Prince, part of which runs over the low flat salines, and part by the foot of the mountains, that rise rapidly at an inconsiderable distance from the sea.

Over the river Ester, (where Toussaint made a rendezvous with Colonel Brisbane for the

purpose of betraying him,) we passed over a very respectable wooden bridge. This is a considerable stream, which from its sluggish motion is very favourable to the habits of the alligator, which abound in it. On our way we passed one that, in traversing the salines, had been stoned to death by some of the inhabitants, who have a mortal hatred to this animal, although I could not learn that it has any of the formidable propensities attributed to his brother of the Magdalena. We also crossed the Artibonite, which at that time was low; but during the rains it swells both rapidly and extensively. Though several miles from its mouth, vessels of some burthen can go up to the passage, and sharks also find their way there. There is no bridge, but a cable is strained across, and a large flat-bottomed boat attached to it by means of a running block; when landed, it is brought into such a position, that the current acts on the side opposite to the intended landing place, and the whole cargo is carried over in safety. Some years ago some enterprising Englishmen offered to throw a suspension bridge over it, on condition of receiving certain tolls for a term of years; but difficulties were interposed, and the project

was abandoned, without much likelihood of its being speedily resumed, from the diminished value of such a speculation.

The approaches to St. Mark are good, though the immediate entrance through a dilapidated gate is paltry. The town itself is strikingly contrasted with any thing I had previously seen. Though filled with ruins, they were ruins of magnificence; and some of the houses, especially those that face the sea, are of a very superior order, being built of freestone, which had been prepared and sent out from France. The town, though always small, must have been really very beautiful, and there are abundant materials for restoring it, if not to its former beauty, certainly to a state of comparative grandeur. General Bonnet, who commands here, received me with great attention, and in the evening walked out with me to a building out of the town commenced by Christophe, but still unfinished, which is dignified with the title of the palace. It would have been substantial, being composed entirely of stone. The situation however seemed to have been chosen for the sake of security, not of beauty. There are also about the town some fortified places, among others Fort Churchill, which were erected by our

army during our occupation of the island, and which are intimately associated in Haitian recollection with the benefits of a liberal expenditure and double rations.

We returned to dine with the general, to whom, and Madame Bonnet, I was much indebted for polite attention. Our dinner and wines were good, and had it not been for the too great proximity of the military band which played during dinner, I should have derived no inconsiderable satisfaction. As it was, I got a good deal of information, and I began to learn that the capital was not an example, either in point of manners or hospitality, to other towns.

Among the party was M. St. Macary, (who has since been employed by his government in France, for the purpose of arranging the terms of the indemnity,) whose father was the most opulent inhabitant of St. Mark before the revolution. He was reduced like many others to a deplorable state of poverty, and I was informed that his son, though a poor man, very properly contributes to his utmost to the support of his father.

In conversation, I could gather that industry does not prevail more at St. Mark's than it does

elsewhere ; but that cultivation there too languishes.

In order to be quite unembarrassed in my movements, I had taken my lodgings at a sort of hotel kept by a notary-public, who had been at one time an acting purser in our navy. He spoke English well, and was intelligent ; but among the other strange topics of communication that he selected, he informed me that a British general officer had formerly kept, as a mistress, the lady whom he had since honoured by marrying, but had had no children, adding, with exultation, that he had been more successful, as he could boast of several, some of whom he produced with their honoured mother. He was very anxious to procure the address of Madame's former lover, that he might write to inform him of his superior prowess.

This man was an active opponent of the government, setting himself up as the champion of the constitution, which he asserted the government was constantly undermining. I believe that he had been very troublesome to all the authorities, especially his immediate chief. He either was, or had been, a member of the "Chambre des Communes."

The streets of St. Mark were clean ; and

the state of quiet in which they were kept indicated some good order. Dessalines reduced the town to its present state by fire.

Early in the morning of the 19th I set off to visit the Commune of Petite Rivière, accompanied by Colonel Bigaye, a black officer, who had served under Colonel Brisbane; to whose merits, both as an officer and a man, he bore ample testimony: he had also served with Toussaint, and had remained firm in his allegiance to the last moment of Christophe's life. He is better educated than most of his brethren, and was very communicative. He had read Baron Lacroix's History of the Revolution, which he insisted was most incorrect: though I thought that this arose from a supposed partiality, on the part of the author, to the coloured party. At a short distance from the town, just about dawn, he pointed out the spot where the gallant Colonel Brisbane fell, leaving a reputation full of honor, even among the most inveterate of his enemies. We passed through several cotton plantations, which bore marks of more care than are usually exhibited; and I was informed that the sugar-cane was also occasionally cultivated; but I did not see any. I saw a few

parties working among the cotton trees, which had been nearly cleared of the woollen pods. The universal complaint is a want of labourers. About ten o'clock we reached "La Petite Rivière," which is under the direction of the black lieutenant-colonel Jean Charles, who had formerly been a baron and lieutenant du roi under Christophe. We were conducted by a party of military, headed by the commandant, that met us at a spot where I reluctantly parted with Colonel Bigaye, who was obliged to return to St. Mark, to a house in which the President puts up when making tours of inspection. Here we had the best breakfast the place could afford; and I had toiled through receiving the visits of the officers of garrison and the municipality, to whom a consul-general was about as great a curiosity as a Haitian ambassador would be in Lancashire. We proceeded to visit the fortification called Crête à Pierrot, celebrated in Haitian annals for the defence it made against no less than three divisions of General Le Clerc's army. Among my other visitants was the "Juge de Paix," a mild-looking young black man, one of the innumerable sons that Dessalines left to uphold his name. I endea-

voured to draw him into conversation ; but his share of it was almost confined to the monosyllables "Oui," or "Non." On inquiring into his character, I found that it was as remarkable for mildness and want of pretension, as that of his father was for ferocity and insolence.

Crête à Pierrot is an insignificant fortification, built by our army on the right bank of the Artibonite, protecting one of the principal passages to the north and east of the group of mountains called "Les Mornes de Cahos," at a distance of rather more than a mile from the village of Petite Rivière, from which the ascent is very gradual, terminating in an elevation which, judging by the eye, cannot much exceed three hundred and fifty feet. One side next to the river is nearly precipitous, while from the north and south the approaches, though difficult, are covered with a considerable quantity of underwood and some large trees, under cover of which the French made their attacks. After three unsuccessful assaults by the French, in the last of which, according to General Lacroix, who commanded a division there, there were fully twelve thousand men, the garrison, consisting of not more than one thousand or twelve hundred, under the command of the

chef-de-brigade Lamartinière, cut their way through their assailants, and retired in safety to the black army with a loss of less than one half of their numbers. The Haitians are proud of this achievement, and according to the acknowledgements of their candid opponent, whom I have quoted, they have good grounds for being so.

Having performed this duty, I proceeded, through some very good roads running between cotton plantations, from Petite Rivière to Marchand, a town founded by Dessalines, to which he gave his name, but which has fallen into decay, and has reverted to its original name, which is that of the French proprietor. Greater traces of industry were here perceptible than I had seen elsewhere, owing without doubt to the vigilance of Colonel Charles, who, on the road, met a wandering "cultivateur," and in an instant ordered the delinquent to retrace his steps, and to present himself the next morning to explain his vagaries. The cotton trees were partially picked, and I was told that the want of labourers was most seriously felt; so that, even where industry is called forth, the lack of hands renders it very imperfect.

I learned my black friend's history, from him-

self. In consequence of having been one of Christophe's confidential officers of his own caste, he did not get employment for a long time ; but now I should think that if zeal, and the faithful discharge of the duty entrusted to him, can ensure the confidence of his government, he must always be on active service.

The only remnants of the meditated grandeur of the new city, are a large rambling low house, called the palace, and six hill-forts that rise abruptly to the north. Dessalines, as well as Toussaint and Christophe, appears to have entertained strange notions on the subject of defence. Thus, in the selection of this mountain range as well as the "Platons," he incurred an enormous expense in the erection of a line of fortifications, which could only serve as places of retreat, being so situate as to be utterly unfit for defending permanently any one part except their immediate site, besides being liable to be turned in almost every direction.

Our party slept at the palace, and early next morning we were on our way to Gonaives, by a road close to the base of the mountains, which we had seen from a distance the two preceding days. We were soon out of the commune of Petite Rivière, as we knew by the increase of underwood, and the decrease of apparent culti-

vation. We arrived in the course of the forenoon at Gonaïves. I should mention that the colonel and a captain, who commanded the party at Marchand, escorted us out of their bounds.

In the course of my communications with the various black chiefs whom I saw within those three days, I elicited a great deal of information respecting Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe, and it was given with a degree of frankness for which I confess I was scarcely prepared. Toussaint certainly possesses the attachment of these people;—he is represented as having been stern and unbending, but just, and intimately acquainted with the best interests of his country, as well as with the habits of his countrymen. The opposite party represent him as full of craft, duplicity, and cruelty,—nay, they even deny him talent. Among other barbarous acts ascribed by the French writers to Toussaint, is this:—on the arrival of the French army, he is said to have removed all his treasure to the mountains of Cahos, and there buried it; after which he murdered the whole of the people employed. I enquired particularly as to this statement of the black officers, who then served with him, and they deny the existence and burying of any treasure, equally with

the murder. Dessalines, from the concurrent testimony of all, was brave, but a monster who spared "no man in his wrath, or woman in his lust." Christophe on the other hand seems, in spite of many admitted atrocities, which are duly recorded by the republican party, to have acquired an immense ascendancy over the minds of his own people. The time of his death was repeatedly described to me as "*le tems de notre malheur.*"

The insurrection, which terminated in his suicide in 1820, commenced at St. Mark, in a regiment, two officers of which he had disgraced and degraded. They murdered in the streets a black general, Jean Claud, who had been directed to quell the mutiny; and the spirit of disaffection having extended, by the machinations of the republicans, to the army sent to crush the insurgents, the business was soon brought to a close.

To rest our horses, we determined not to start for the Cape before the morning of the 22nd, which we did at an early hour, having our party augmented by some of the officers of the garrison, some strangers then visiting Gonaives, and some individuals going to the Cape. I must not omit to mention that Gonaives is

celebrated among the góurmands of the republic—and they form no contemptible portion of the population—for its fat capons and luscious truffles, with both of which it supplies the capital. That my report of the gourmanderie may not seem exaggerated, I may mention what was told as a fact to me :—an eminent Haitian lawyer, well known for his aldermanic propensities, received as a professional fee, on one occasion, six thousand dollars. He pleaded his cause, and, I believe, gained it; but he never dreamed of returning home until he had literally devoured his fee !

CHAPTER VI.

Leaving Gonaives — Poteau — L'Escalier — Plaisance — Camp Lecoq — Madame Babier — Limbé — Approach to Cape Haitian — Functionaries — City of the Cape — Society — Fossette — School — Executioner — Christophe — Brutal conduct — Licentiousness — Character — Noyades — Sans Souci — La Ferriere — Suicide of Christophe — Murder of his son — Le Ramier — Mr. Laroche.

ON the morning of the 22nd, at an early hour, we left Gonaives, and, after having travelled about three hours, we reached a place called Poteau, which boasts of a shed in which the traveller may get coffee, and rest for a short time. We did both, and escaped a very heavy fall of rain, which came down in torrents. There are a few straggling houses in this hamlet, all sufficiently miserable, except one that belongs to one of the surviving mistresses of Dessalines, who had nearly as many concubines as Solomon himself. From Poteau there are two roads to Cape Haitian, or, as it is commonly called, the Cape, I suppose in contradistinction

to Cape Nicolas Mole; one by Ennery, the other by Plaisance, over a steep mountain, and called from its steepness L'Escalier. Our road lay over a very wild, uncultivated country, gradually rising to the foot of the steepest part, where there are the ruins of an old coffee plantation, and a very pleasant stream. There we halted, to put our horses in wind before undertaking the ascent.

The "Escalier" is remarkably steep and in many places overhanging precipices, which, though not so formidable as those of the "Corral" in Madeira, are quite sufficient to render caution necessary, especially in those who, like myself, cannot look from a great elevation without becoming giddy. The entire road is paved, and was constructed by a black colonel named Thomas Durocher: he is a native of one of our colonies, and is there called an Englishman. The work is very creditable to the planner, and it has been well executed. Perhaps a part of the ascent might have been avoided by adding to the distance, as it struck me that though the greatest eminences had been avoided, to run over the summits of the lesser ones was deemed, as in the Highlands, the shortest cut.

On reaching the highest point, the view that

bursts on the eye is remarkably extensive and imposing, reaching as far as the sea, which seemed in the distance, from the reflected rays of the sun, to be a bright line; the intervening space being an infinite variety of hill and dale, covered with luxuriant vegetation, in which there appeared not the slightest trace of the hand of man. Whatever habitations might exist are lost in the profusion of trees, until the traveller is close upon them. After the descent begins to the north, the road ceases to be good, and part of the way it degenerates into a mere bridle-path. I had been told that carriages had travelled over "l'Escalier," but that I seriously doubt; at all events I should certainly not chuse to be an inside or even an outside passenger in such an experiment.

In the midst of the mountains we found Plaisance, a sweetly situated spot, though almost always enveloped in mist on account of its elevation. It is a straggling village, consisting of a few small wooden houses; in one of which, belonging to another "chère amie" of Dessalines, we sought refuge, and found that, in anticipation of ample remuneration, our hostess (having been apprised of our incursion) had made preparations, which, after a fatiguing

ride, were very acceptable. Some of our party returned to Gonaives, and the remainder proceeded on our route to the Cape. The road winds very prettily over the declining hills, where I first saw the wild pine-apple; and long after night-fall we arrived at a small hut called "Camp Lecoq," the proprietor of which, a negro man who has two wives, induces the youngest and most active to make provision for wayfaring persons "for a consideration." Our fare was very acceptable, though rather later than we wished, and served in vessels that might have been recorded by Haji Baba himself; but these incidents afforded one of my fellow travellers, who possesses the Creole dialect in great perfection, an opportunity of exercising Madame Babier's patience by incessant attacks on her want of system and order. At one time she got fairly angry, but finding wrath quite unavailing, she resumed a more pacific one, and finally became perfectly amiable. On this occasion, as well as in all my intercourse with even the lowest of the Haitian peasantry, I was struck by the air of perfect independence with which they conduct themselves. Madame Babier gibed, gibbered, scolded, or joked, as freely as if she had been a guest; and when she had

put our supper on the table, quietly took a seat by us—not at table it is true, but quite close to it; nor did she, in doing so, seem to think that there was the slightest irregularity.

The cottage consists of a small sitting-room and two bed-rooms. The cooking was, I believe, carried on either in an out-shed or in the open air. The beds were clean, and upon the whole the dwelling was the most reputable peasant's cottage I had seen in any part of the republic. The merchants of the Cape have the credit of having held out inducements to the owner to have a resting place at a very convenient distance between the Cape and Plaisance; for although the distance from Gonaives to the former of these places may be traversed in one day, yet it is better to divide the journey, which can now be done with tolerable comfort.

I had requested a gentleman at the Cape to purchase a cabriolet, and to send it to meet me at Gonaives; but not finding a vehicle of that description, he had purchased an English chariot and four horses, which I found awaiting me at “Camp Lecoq”—an apparatus which could not be used on the road with any degree of comfort.

Early on the 23rd we were afoot, and after

some obstructions to the progress of the carriage from the state of the roads, especially where a ford occurred, we got fairly into motion, and had a delightfully cool ride, until we reached Limbé, a village which owes its chief note to having given a title to Romain under Christophe. We went on horseback until the road became somewhat better, about four leagues from the Cape, which was scarcely to be seen, although the bay called "l'Acul" lay beneath to the left. Previous to getting into the carriage, we stopped for half-an-hour at a small hut consisting of two rooms, with no other furniture than a stool or two. The inmates were a young woman, and a grinning black infant tumbling about the floor, and an elderly black man, who was plastering the wattling, of which the walls were composed, with a mixture of mud and ashes; and I was surprised to see him use his hand, although he had a trowel. On inquiring why he did so, he answered for the sake of convenience. Although the house was in the midst of fenced ground, there was no cultivation, and as I could discover no trace of food of any kind, I inquired how the people lived, but could obtain no information. Thinking that I had failed to make myself intelligible, I got

my companion to pursue the inquiry, but he was equally unsuccessful, and I was never able to ascertain how the people existed. It is true that their necessities of life are the simplest imaginable ; but some exertion is required to obtain even these : and here was a woman lounging away the day with her child, without any exertion to acquire the slightest means of satisfying hunger—nor could I find that her husband was more profitably employed.

As the road improved, the progress of the carriage increased, and we soon passed the “ Haut du Cap,” some very neat houses of stone standing off the road, and entered the city of Cape Haitian, once the capital of the “ Queen of the Antilles.”

I was conducted to lodgings which had been provided for me by an English resident at the Cape, and found my brother, who had sailed round in the *Harlequin*, and had arrived before us, in possession of the premises, which I occupied until the 15th of April, with the exception of the time passed in little excursions, of which I shall give some short notices.

My first business was to wait upon the authorities, to whom I had letters from the government, and I was received with the most marked

kindness by General Leo, Colonel Backer, and others. General Magny, the commandant of the arrondissement, was absent on account of his health, which had for a long time been declining. Some time after my arrival, I saw the general, who had played a very conspicuous part during the progress of the various revolutions. He had been one of Christophe's favourite generals, and had been created Duke de Plaisance ; but he had embraced the republican cause, and ranged under the banners of Pétion. He was a negro, and certainly one of the quietest and best mannered I ever saw. His demeanour was remarkably contrasted with that of most of his compatriots. He had served in Toussaint's guard, which he commanded at the memorable defence of Crête à Pierrot. He died lately, much lamented, as he possessed great influence with his own caste, which he is represented always to have exercised for the benefit of the whole community.

The city has had a variety of designations—Cabo Santo, Cap Français, Cap Republicain, Cap Henri, and now Cap Haïtien. The Spaniards still give it the aboriginal name Guarico: It is built at the base of a mountain, that screens it from the north and the west, called Morne du Cap ; on one of the summits there is the

signal-post (*vigie*), which announces the approach of any vessel, distinguishing the nation and the class. The harbour or road lies to the east and south, and is protected by a tongue of land that runs out from the plain of the north. At the bottom of the bay thus formed, is the small town of *Petite Anse*. The entrance is difficult, but the anchorage good. The city is large, the streets spacious and well paved, and the houses chiefly built of stone, with handsome squares, large markets, and a copious supply of water from fountains.

The defences to the sea are respectable, and had been much attended to by *Toussaint*, *Des-salines*, and *Christophe*. The arsenal was built in the reign of *Louis XV.*, whose initials appear over the gate and windows. The church was handsome, but is now in ruins; so are the theatre, the college of the *Jesuits*, the government-house, and two convents of very considerable extent. The quays are good, and afford a pleasant promenade, when the sun has declined so far as to be intercepted by the adjacent mountain. The palace of *Christophe* is kept up for the president, but his stables are unfinished. Upon the whole, the city is remarkably beautiful, and must have been, during its glory, the most agreeable residence in the *Western Archipelago*:

but now little more is to be seen than the traces of former grandeur : even in the Place d'Armes, the handsomest square in it, some of the finest houses are unroofed, and plantain trees are growing in the midst of the ruins. I was particularly struck by the strange effect of this, in the midst of an inhabited town.

Those who wish to see a very full description of its former prosperity, will do well to consult the formidable book of Moreau St. Mery, who details even the names of alleys with a minuteness that cannot interest the great body of readers.

The Cape has been singularly unfortunate in fires, having been seriously injured seven times before the revolution by the flames, and twice (if not oftener) it has been since nearly laid in ruins ; so that the whole of the existing desolation is not to be attributed to its present masters. It was the seat of government, as well as Port-au-Prince, according to circumstances, under the French ; and continued to be so under Toussaint and Christophe. At present it holds only a secondary rank ; though in political importance and extent of trade it is little inferior to the capital.

The inhabitants consist of the same classes as those of other towns in Haiti ; but, as far as

I could perceive, the natives are more accessible to strangers, better informed, and blending more cordially among themselves. Such, at least, is the appearance to a visitor. Among the better classes there is little entertainment given, owing, no doubt, to the causes of depression that affect all parts of the republic. But the negroes dance with much zeal every Sunday within the walls. What they do in this way in other places and at other seasons I cannot describe.

On the road to Limbé, and on the heights over the town, in different directions there are several pretty country-houses, in which the refreshing influence of the sea-breeze is felt from seven o'clock every morning. In the former direction there are two handsome residences of stone, one of which belongs to an English merchant, and the other was vacant. In the time of Christophe this was a sort of club-house for foreigners, beyond which they were not allowed to go without passports.

At the entrance of the town there is a public walk planted with rows of trees, called "La Fossette," at one corner of which is the small burying-ground to which Toussaint is said to have looked with much anxiety, as the destined asylum of Le Clerc's army. At another spot

is a small theatre, which Christophe caused to be erected in some incredibly short time by some German artificers, to prove how promptly his wishes could be realized.

Trade is carried on as elsewhere in the republic ; but there appeared to me more activity and a greater variety of shops than in Port-au-Prince.

Colonel Backer, who had served in the French fleet at the battle of Trafalgar, is the administrator of the finance department, and was obliging enough to take me through the several branches of his office, all of which present a clearness of movement which it would be well to imitate elsewhere. He also conducted me to the large military hospital, the barracks, and national school, now taught by a young mulatto, M. Papillon, who had been educated by Mr. Gullifer, in the school established by Christophe. An examination of the pupils in French, English, grammar, and arithmetic, took place in my presence, and the eager anxiety of all the boys (between thirty and forty) showed that the teacher had succeeded in establishing the best ground of success—a spirit of emulation. One little mulatto boy was particularly acute, to the apparent discomfiture of a little black fellow, whose zeal

far exceeded his ability. Upon the whole, however, talent appeared pretty equal among the castes.

There was a newspaper, which died a natural death, and there is still a printing-press.

Among the other things to which a stranger's attention is called, is a savage ruffian-like black man, (named Gattie,) who labours as a porter. He walks about bare-footed, dressed in a linen shirt and trowsers, with a large beard, and his eyes fixed on the ground. This fellow was Christophe's chief executioner, of whom it is told that, when directed to perform the duties of his office, he invariably waited on the relatives of his victim and demanded a fee, in proportion to which he inflicted more or less torture on the unhappy sufferer. He had attained from practice such an unenviable dexterity in decapitation, that for a proper remuneration he could with his sabre remove the head at one stroke, and by the instant prostration of the trunk avoid staining the collar with blood. At least such is the tale told, when, shuddering at his ill-omened countenance, he is pointed out by those who remember him in all his glory and iniquity. I repeatedly saw him, but always alone. Yet I was told that he earned a decent livelihood as a porter among the foreigners. It

is a matter of surprise that he should still live in the scene of his atrocities, in the midst of numberless individuals, who have been by his hand bereft of some of their nearest and most valued ties. It speaks well for the people.

Besides this odious vestige of Christophe, there are others of a more agreeable kind, in individuals who had been educated at his institutions. I found education among the blacks much more general than I had previously seen ; and remarked with surprise that all who had completed their studies before 1820, or very soon after, spoke a little English. The individual who made the sketches which are engraved in these volumes, is a native Haitian, who owed all his instruction to the institutions of the king.

The recent death of Henry Christophe, and the existence of many of his chief officers, afforded me an opportunity of making many researches into his personal character, and the history of his reign, which was confirmed by some intelligent foreigners ; and as I am not aware of any very faithful record of either, I shall note such matters as may be interesting. I had hoped to have seen Dupuy and Prevost, his principal officers, but the one died before, and the other very shortly after, my arrival ;

this loss, however, was in a great measure obviated by my having had access to the personal associates of both, and to the confidential correspondence between Sans Souci and the Cape for many years, and from them some curious materials have been obtained.

Henry Christophe was born, according to an official account sanctioned by himself, in the island of Grenada, in the year 1769, and came at an early age to St. Domingo. He was not a pure black, but a sambo or griffe, as it is called. He was the slave of a French gentleman, whose daughter resided there when I was at the Cape, to whom the former domestic was kind and attentive in his prosperity. He afterwards became a waiter at an hotel, then privateer's-man, and then returned to an hotel and gaming-house. It does not appear when he entered the army ; but in 1801 he was general of brigade and governor of the Cape. He distinguished himself on the arrival of the French expedition, first in his negotiations with Le Clerc, and second, by filling his house, richly furnished, with combustibles, and setting fire to it, as a signal for the conflagration of the whole city. Before Toussaint submitted, Christophe had yielded to French ascendancy, and served for some time, but afterwards joined the bands

that were roused to revolt by the unsparing atrocities of Rochambeau, whose memory has an unenviable celebrity in every part of Haiti. On the expulsion of the relics of that corps in 1803, Christophe was one of the officers that signed the act of independence ; and although he served under Dessalines, he is reported to have entered into a confederacy which led to the assassination of the Emperor Jacques I. at Pont Rouge. That, however, is resolutely denied by his partisans.

The death of Dessalines was the signal for intrigue ; and Christophe, having failed in obtaining the wished-for ascendancy over the whole, retired to the Cape in the beginning of 1807, and was proclaimed president and generalissimo of Haiti. On the 28th of March, 1811, he was elected king, under the title of Henry I. The act called “ *La loi constitutionnelle du Conseil d'état, qui établit la royauté à Haiti,*” completely established the feudal law.

With the succession of public events it is not my intention now to meddle ; but rather to confine myself to such anecdotes as are characteristic of the man.

During his presidency, and the early part of his reign, he was mild, forbearing, and humane ;

but afterwards his nature seemed to have been completely changed, and he indulged in whatever his uncontrolled passions suggested—and they suggested almost every act that can violate the charities of life; and as he proceeded in his career, he became suspicious and wantonly cruel.

He was destitute of even the elements of education, and scrawled a signature mechanically* without knowing a single letter. He however understood English as well as French, and possessed a rare memory as well as acuteness. Yet he never would speak the former when engaged in discussions with the British, by which means he had leisure to consider the topic which his interpreter was translating, and had at the same time an opportunity of determining the fidelity of that officer. A ludicrous story is told of an American captain, who had been brought before him for some violation of law, and who, indignant at the rating he received, and ignorant of his Majesty's accomplishments, muttered to himself a wish that he had the sable king at Charleston. Henry quietly asked him, "How much do you think I should fetch?" The offender was dismissed,

* See note (A) in Appendix.

nor do I believe that any further notice was taken of his irreverent remark.

All his acts were not equally marked by the kingly virtue of mercy, his want of which began to be felt after he assumed the monarchy; for although he had all the semblance of a constitution, he was practically a thorough despot, dictating to the puppets, who appeared to those at a distance to act independently. On his return from his last unsuccessful attempt on Port-au-Prince in 1812, some busy meddler told him, that the women of colour had gone to the cathedral to implore Heaven to prevent his return. This was sufficient; bands of sanguinary ruffians proceeded from house to house of those destined for slaughter,* in the dead of the night, and massacred, without remorse, an immense number of these hapless beings. Indeed it is reported that, on an order for the indiscriminate murder of all the people of colour, even the sanctities of domestic life were violated; and I have sat at the same table with a black general, who I believe to have put to death, with his own hands, his coloured wife and children, in order to satiate

* There can be no doubt of this, from the testimony of eye-witnesses now at Cape Haitian!

his master's thirst for blood. But even that did not secure him from outrage, for in a fit of passion, he did him the favour to knock out one of his eyes.

He also assassinated some German officers, who had been allured by his promises to erect fortifications, under some vague pretence of treason; but the real motive was to prevent the exposure of his defences.*

Whatever may have been the motives of his early career, those of his latter life, if we can judge from his conduct, were to obtain uncontrolled power, and the most perfect indulgence of all his inclinations, however improper and licentious. I was told by a person who witnessed the transaction, that having detected one of his servants at Sans Souci stealing a very small quantity of salt fish, he ordered him to be laid down in his presence, in the kitchen, and the man was literally scourged to death, and all entreaty sternly rejected. His majesty then went to breakfast with as much composure as if he had been performing a very ordinary act.

I had in my possession a copy of the sentence of a court on a man who had been

* See Appendix (B.)

convicted of robbery, with the mandate of the king to carry it into effect within twenty-four hours. This gentle punishment was to scourge the convict to death with rods.

An English resident, named Davidson, fell under his suspicion as a spy : he was arrested, confined, and was even tortured. At the instance of all the foreigners he was released, but compelled to quit the country at considerable loss. A part of the correspondence between Christophe and Dupuy, which will also be found in a note,† will give the best history of a transaction which has rarely been equalled in the annals of cruelty and duplicity.

His indulgences are described to have been of the most abandoned description. He addicted himself to brandy, which added fuel to his naturally ungovernable passions ; and though, to gratify his European friends, he insisted on marriage, and set the example in his own person, yet he habitually broke its ties ; and the palace acquired a title to a very degrading designation. It is recorded that the ladies attended there in regular rotation to abide the will of their despotic chief ; and not one solitary Lucretia has been immortalized.

† See Note (D.)

Among his other deeds, he was devoted to a female of colour, the wife of one of his officers, who, even when I saw her, justified her pretensions to beauty and grace. In order to have undisturbed possession of the lady, he voted the husband mad, and consigned him for a long time to a mad-house. Sated, however, with the charms he had so ardently coveted, he discovered that their possessor was an improper character, and, above all, that she had "*une mauvaise langue*." He then ordered her to go in procession to the "*Maison des Fous*, with drums and trumpets sounding," to take out her husband, and to restore him to his connubial rights;* and though these violations of decency were public, yet no one dared to report them in Europe, such being the vigilance of his police, and such his dreaded severity.

His archbishops (two) were privately taken off; and so was Medina, the French agent. In short, the dagger and the cord were unsparingly used, and occasionally the poisoned chalice took off an unsuspecting victim, whom it would have been imprudent to have sacri-

* See Note (E.)

ficed more openly. But though I consider it more than probable that such statements are correct, yet as they may have been exaggerated, I do not relate them with the same confidence that I have felt in such details as are supported by documents.

In the midst of all this brutality, Christophe was intent on exalting the condition of his kingdom; although his personal gratifications were probably the mainsprings of his action. He was the principal dealer in the country; and some English merchants, who had had extensive transactions with him, have described him to me as singularly well informed on all matters connected with this branch of his business. To promote the civilization of his subjects, he assembled men of talent, even from Europe, established schools, built fortifications, disciplined his army, formed courts for the administration of justice, encouraged commerce and agriculture, and undoubtedly promoted activity and enterprise. But the monarch was sullied with remorseless cruelty. As an ignorant untaught man, he may be considered one of those phenomena that occasionally excite attention, but leave scarcely any beneficial trace behind. He seems to

have possessed a rare degree of native acuteness, activity, intrepidity, and the art of commanding the respect of those around him. These qualities, however, united with his absolute ignorance, were disadvantageous, as, while they made him thoroughly master of one view of a subject, he was blind to every other; and thus knowing nothing of the almost imperceptible degrees by which alone civilization can be rendered permanent, he attempted to carry his object by storm, and succeeded, until bodily infirmity convinced his barbarians that he was mortal. With all his strength of mind, he could not resist the temptation of encouraging a belief that he was protected by a tutelary demon, who would have instantly avenged any insult offered to him. It is also said that he had great faith in *Obeah*. With all his atrocities he was an affectionate father, and endeavoured to place his children above himself in mental culture.

Towards the close of his reign his cruelty became dreadful. He buffeted his generals—beat the governor of the Cape, Richard, with a huge stick whenever he displeased him—degraded generals to the rank of private soldiers—

sent his ministers to labour on the fortifications ;* and, above all, kept his soldiers in arrear of their pay from extraordinary avarice. A fit of apoplexy gave confidence to the dissatisfied, and revolt broke out, and terminated, as is well known, in the destruction of the monarchy.

On the shore of Petite Anse, immediately below high-water mark, the remains of coffins are exposed to the view of the passenger. On inquiry, I was told that they contained the bodies of the Haitians who underwent the "Noyade" under Le Clerc and Rochambeau ; that there was a vessel, with an open bottom, into which were consigned the unfortunate wretches who were doomed to death, that sailed every night with the land breeze, and returned the following day with the sea breeze, having disposed of her cargo ; that, with the tide, the bodies that escaped the voracity of the sharks were cast on shore ; and it was a part of the duty of the Haitian soldiers to collect and inter the bodies of their friends. The statement may be true, but I suspect that in such a climate twenty-four years would not

* See Appendix (F.)



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Designed by J. C. B.

leave even the miserable vestiges of coffins that were visible. I rather suspect that some old burying-ground has been exposed.

The President Boyer narrowly escaped this fate, through the intercession of the French general Boyé, who is, I have understood, now in Egypt; and similar tales are rumoured in every part of Haiti, with circumstances of aggravation, that it is unnecessary, without full evidence, to repeat. I am, however, inclined to give credit to the atrocity, though I doubt its connexion of the fact on which the statement I received was founded. The French have left there, as well as in Germany, Spain, and Portugal, fearful records; yet whenever they again appear, a veil of oblivion is readily thrown over the past.

30th March.—As a matter not to be omitted, I formed a party to visit the ruins of Sans Souci, or Millot, the former residence of Christophe, in the time of his greatest splendour, and the “Citadelle Henri,” or “La Ferriere,” which is only three leagues from the palace; and, as a permission from the authorities at the Cape is necessary for so doing, I applied to the commandant General Leo, in the absence of General Magny, and he very readily granted it, direct-

ing, at the same time, one of his aides-de-camp, Captain Emile, to accompany us.

Sans Souci is on the southern confines of the plain of the north, and the district of Limonade, which gave the title of duke to Christophe's foreign secretary General Prevost. We travelled over a tolerably good road, through the ruins of sugar plantations, of one of which the plate gives a very accurate representation.

We stopped at the village of Millot, at a small house, where strangers are able to procure refreshment, and having breakfasted, we paid our respects to Colonel Belair, the commandant, a black officer, who had been on guard at the palace at the time of Christophe's suicide. He also accompanied us to visit the remains of a place in which, I believe, for a time, more unlimited despotism had been exercised than has ever prevailed in any country aspiring to Christianity and civilization. It is a large clumsy building on the side of a mountain, resembling a huge cotton factory. The accompanying view is tolerably correct. We ascended through the gateway up a spacious flight of steps, which are pretty well expressed in the engraving, and then passed through a series of ample apartments, all now dismantled, but the uses of which were well remembered by our con-

ductor. Some were destined for the reception of treasure, some were private, others public apartments ; others were occupied by the military and civil functionaries. The floors, which had been of mahogany, had all been torn up. I visited with particular interest the bed-chamber of Christophe, in which he had terminated his life ; and as I heard most of the details at the time of this visit, I shall give them in this place, although some particulars may appear that have been gleaned at other periods.

When the royal army, which had been sent under the Prince de Limbé to repress the insurrection at St. Mark's, had declared in favour of the revolution, some dissatisfied chiefs, among whom were the Governor of the capital and Generals Nord and Profete, excited the garrison to revolt against Henry, who at that time was labouring under a partial paralysis. - On the news reaching Sans Souci, he, with accustomed energy, by the use of stimulants, enabled himself to mount his horse, for the purpose of placing himself at the head of his household troops, who still appeared to remain faithful. But disease had made too extensive inroads to be resisted, and he was compelled to abandon his intentions. This was a complete death-blow to his power. His presence alone would

have been a host. Resistance, however, was necessary, and he confided the command to his friend and relation, Prince Joachim, retaining only the few guards required for duty at the palace.

The little army consisted of the élite of Haiti, but had been a little mutinous, in consequence of their pay having fallen into arrear, owing to a foolish niggardliness that latterly influenced their chief. In order to restore a proper tone of feeling, the arrears were paid and a donation given, and they commenced their work with probably the same integrity of purpose that prompted Ney to pledge himself to bring his former master in a cage of iron. On arriving at a well-known place called "Haut du Cap," they found the insurgents in position. A parley having failed, Joachim ordered his troops to fire; but, instead of doing so, they joined the ranks of their opponents, and commenced a fire on their late general, and some few individuals who retained their fidelity. Flight was their only resource, and I have the details from one of Christophe's secretaries, who shared in the disgraces of the day, and could sing of his "*parmula non bene relictâ*." He was the first to reach Sans Souci, and to communicate them. He found Christophe, who

had been calmly discussing with his medical adviser (the late Dr. Stewart, a Scotch physician, who had been long his confidential attendant) the most vulnerable parts of the human frame. The disastrous intelligence was privately given to him, and he then communicated it to his family, whom he desired to leave him alone, that he might meditate on the best course to be adopted in the emergency. So perfectly calm did he appear that no apprehension was excited of his purpose. One of his attendants, on hearing him lock his bed-chamber door, looked through the key-hole to ascertain what was going on, and he saw the king apparently adjusting himself in an arm-chair, and immediately discharging one pistol through his head and another through his heart, he fell back dead before any alarm could be given. This happened about ten o'clock, on the night of the 20th of October, 1820, and terminated the life of a remarkable man, whose career exhibits extraordinary changes, singularly opposed traits of character, and proves how much may be effected by uncultivated talent, while it marks the insecurity of trusting a barbarian mind with excessive power.

The rapid approach of the insurgent troops

rendered it necessary to remove his body, lest it should be exposed to the brutal insults of a ruffian soldiery ; and the performance of this act was the last proof that could be afforded of the devotion of Dupuy and Prevost, who personally assisted in conveying his remains to the Citadelle Henri, where it was hastily interred.

The family of the deceased king, consisting of his widow, two daughters, and his son, proceeded to the Cape, and placed themselves under the protection of some of the revolutionary leaders. They were all treated, at first, with respect, and the females were placed in safety. The Prince Royal, and his brother the Duke de Mole, a natural son of Henry, and Prince Joachim, were eventually lodged in a prison, where, in the dead of night, they were basely murdered by the governor of the Cape, Richard Duke of Marmalade, (who was afterwards shot for treason at Port-au-Prince,) at the moment that General Nord was interceding for the youthful prince.

The view from the palace towards the sea is exceedingly fine, stretching over the plain of the north to the city of the Cape. Behind there is a terraced garden, filled with fruit-trees of different kinds, and admirably sup-

plied with water, in which the females of Christophe's family are said to have spent much time.

In the court there is a fine star apple-tree, with seats around its trunk, under which, in good weather, Christophe held his levees; and in the coach-houses we found the royal carriages wholly unfit for use. Indeed his death seems to have been the signal for destruction, for even the guard-houses, and the houses in the village for his nobility, are quite dismantled. The only building that has the semblance of being kept up is the church, the roof of which is a cupola. Abbé Besson officiates there, and presides over a college that had been just set on foot, for the formation of *a national clergy*. How this is to be done without the concurrence of the pope, I do not know, unless the suggestion of a very influential man in Haiti to me be adopted, of "*framing a religion suitable to the character of the people.*" In such a case, the president of the new university may be no bad Mahomet: for it is confidently asserted that he is a lieutenant in the French navy, and that his priesthood is quite imaginary.

After this visit we ascended, by a rugged and steep road, about one league and a half, to

a small coffee plantation occupied by Mr. Laroche, a partner in an English house at the Cape. There we breakfasted, and rested during the heat of the day; and in the afternoon commenced our journey to La Ferriere, or the Citadel. We ascended nearly a league and a half over a narrow paved road, at times overhanging considerable precipices, and at last arrived at this monument of barbaric power. It is situated at the extremity of a mountain range of considerable elevation, which runs nearly north and south, and is a huge ungainly pile, rivalling, in my imagination, the tower of Babel, both in point of utility and extent. As far as I could see, it has three tiers of guns on every side, and there is infinite accommodation for a large garrison, and it is said for three years' provisions, with a profusion of water. The walls are prodigiously thick; but on one side the use of the plummet must have been sadly neglected, as they literally bulge out. Within the walls there is a palace, and complete plans of security for the royal household, as well as for the reception of treasure. We also saw the marble tomb of Prince Noel, the queen's brother, who was killed by the lightning that destroyed a portion of the fortress, and scattered about some of the hoarded dollars. But I cannot

pretend to give anything like a description of the buildings ; for there was evidently a vast suspicion on the part of Belair and the other black officers, trained in the school of Christophe, who never admitted any foreigners within the sacred precincts. He laid hold of my hand under the pretext of guiding, but it was evident that his object was to prevent any accurate examination ; and from being hurried from point to point, my observations became confused. Several circumstances occurred which confirmed my belief. In order to ascertain the height, I had with me one of Carey's very excellent portable barometers, which I requested permission to use, having fully explained the object, which could be in no way injurious to any one ; but it was refused, and the aide-de-camp with us, although he felt the folly, was obliged to acquiesce. I had a similar refusal when I wished to take the bearings of the Cape with an azimuth compass ; and I have little doubt that some magical influence was ascribed by the old barbarians to the instruments.

Notwithstanding all this folly, I was strongly affected by the deep feeling displayed by these old men, whenever their former chief or his institutions were the subject of conversation. They never mentioned his name, but emphati-

cally called him "l'homme," or "le roi." I shall not soon forget the manner in which my conductor grasped my hand, when we had reached the chamber in which the remains of Christophe repose, nor the manner in which he pointed out the spot where his uncoffined remains have their last resting-place. Among other anecdotes that are treasured respecting him, one of them mentioned that after the interment it was discovered that his right hand was extended above the surface, as if in defiance of his enemies.

Over the grave some planks are placed across the transverse beams, which have never been boarded, under which two of our party rather indiscreetly went, and were pursued with extraordinary alacrity by one of the officers and two of his men. I apprehend that some violation of the grave was feared, for some angry Creole discussion took place, and at last the ire was assuaged.

In return for the privation of all opportunity of accurate observation, many wondrous tales were recounted; such as that the king wished to try the range of a gun, and seeing a fisherman carrying a basket at the "Haut du Cap," at least nine miles off in a straight line, he fired at and cut the man in two. On another

occasion, to show that the guns commanded a certain part of the road, he ordered a shot to be fired at a horseman just at the angle, which was done, and both man and horse were killed. Such feats seemed to be recounted with satisfaction, as evidence of the power of the sovereign. I was also shown a place in which a refractory officer, "Count d'Ennery," had been tortured to death, by being fixed in a situation in which water was incessantly dripping on his head.

This huge pile is said to contain three hundred pieces of artillery, and the construction of it (which occupied many years) must have cost almost inconceivable labour. The materials for building, and the artillery, were all dragged by human hands; for which, in addition to the troops employed, there were regular levies of the peasantry. In looking back at the precipices to be surmounted; I can easily believe that it cost the labour of an entire regiment a whole day to drag up a single thirty-two pounder. Neither age nor sex was exempt from this duty, and the royal officers were unsparing in their exaction of labour. I saw a young woman at Gonaives, whose back was deeply whealed by a cow-skin applied to it *by the general in command*, when

employed in carrying stones on her head. The mortality was very great, and it is said that the severity of this service was one of the principal causes of the revolution. No doubt other cruelties and oppressions had their share.

I cannot suppose that the citadel was ever intended to be any thing else than a stronghold, into which, in case of rebellion or invasion the chief might have retired; and I believe that such would have been the case, had he been in the enjoyment of his original vigour both of mind and body. All his disposable money was there hoarded, and it is said that at one time no less than thirty millions of dollars were collected. At the revolution it is calculated that about six millions found their way into the republican treasury. There are various surmises as to the remainder.

At a short distance from the citadel stands a small palace called "Le Ramier," also built by Christophe, to which he occasionally retired. We did not visit it.

The mist becoming very dense, and the cold severe, we descended; and, as is usual in Haiti, a few dollars were given to the colonel for the men, and he very quietly divided them between the officers and men.

An instance occurred of the "jactance" of

these people, when Captain Elliot of the Harlequin, who had accompanied me, unconscious of error, looked at some forbidden object. He was warned, and when, to assure them that he had no sinister design, he said, "n'ayez pas peur," the old gentlemen clapped their hands upon their swords, and uttered inconceivable nonsense, which was not terminated for some minutes. The division of the money had a most soothing influence, and restored the most perfect harmony; so that at the castle gate we shook hands with infinite cordiality.

On the way back to Mr. Laroche's, where we were to spend the night, I observed some clearing for coffee, which here as well in the other parts that I had seen, is the favourite; but, generally speaking, the old coffee-trees in bearing were over-run with weeds. In short it seemed that, if they produced coffee, it was gathered; if they were unfruitful, no effort was made to render them otherwise.

CHAPTER VII.

Visit to Dondon and Grand Rivière—Abbé de la Haye—Reported cave—Idols—Coffee-trees in bloom—Col. Moncardy—General Kayer La Rivière—History—Adventures—Habitation Gallifet—Return to the Cape—Quartiers Morin and Limonade—Breda—Duplat—Brossard—Actual condition—Departure for Spanish part—Intermediaire—Fort Liberté—General Lacroix—Butchery by Jean François—M. Mehu—Account of Christophe's system of agriculture—Departure for Ouanaminthe—Account of it—Laxavon—Vega Real—Grazing farm—Jacouba—Escalante—L'Hôpital—Mao—Sleeping in the woods—River Yaqui—Arrival at St. Iago.

ON the morning of the 31st, two of our party retraced their steps to the Cape, while I and two others pursued our way round the base of the mountain range on which the citadel is placed, to Dondon, so celebrated as “*La Vendee*” of St. Domingo, in which the royalists, at the outset of the revolution, made their last struggle to uphold the rights of Louis XVI. The road is bad, but the valley of

Dondon is splendidly beautiful; and as the morning was mild, my enjoyment was, I may say, almost intense. The village is a miserable one, with small signs of cultivation around it, and is more remarkable for what it has been than what it is. At the early period of the revolution, the Abbé de la Haye was the parish priest, and distinguished himself both as a naturalist and as an earnest advocate of the slave population. He was probably constrained to become almoner to Jean François, and on being taken by the opposite party, was doomed to death, but escaped by the lenity of the commissioners. He thenceforward remained in Haiti; but on the return of the French in 1802, he was suspected of a bearing to his countrymen by his pupils, and murdered by them.

After I had no means of examination, I heard of a cave* said to have been formed by the aboriginal inhabitants, on the walls of which there are some rude sculptures. I regret much having missed the opportunity of seeing them, as I should have been glad to have ascertained the resemblance, if any, to three uncouth idols which were found in that

* See Appendix, Note (G.)

neighbourhood, and given to me by an English gentleman at the Cape. They are now in the British Museum, where they were placed by the Earl of Aberdeen, to whom, as the President of the Society of Antiquaries, I had taken the liberty of sending them. After quitting Dondon, the surface became more varied, and we passed through some beautiful mountain-scenery, which was literally covered with wild coffee-trees in full bloom, that were really wasting their fragrance in the desert air, there not being a solitary trace of cultivation. The descent from Dondon to the arrondissement of "Grande Rivière" is through a difficult mountain-gorge called "Grandchile," in which Hardy's division, during the last French invasion, was nearly annihilated by a small body of Haitians. On approaching Grand Rivière, the road was evidently better; on the confines of the district we encountered Colonel Moncardy, (the *ci-devant* grand carver of King Henry,) who had been sent out by the general commanding to receive and welcome me. He appeared a respectable, quiet man; and although he was a mulatto, and bore testimony to the barbarity of Christophe, I thought he felt some regret at the destruction of royalty. At a little distance we met the General Kayer La Rivière in person, at-

tended by his staff, and the indispensable accompaniments of trumpets and horns, which were duly exercised.

As La Rivière was one of the most remarkable men I met in the republic, and as I have nothing to say of him that can cause him pain, I have no hesitation in giving a short sketch of him, as derived chiefly from himself, and one of his most confidential friends.

His father was a Frenchman, and he himself was, I think, originally a hair-dresser. At the time of the revolution he became a soldier, and after the destruction of the coloured party by Toussaint, he went to France, from which he returned with Le Clerc, as an officer on the staff of General Hardy. On the expulsion of the remnant of the army, he remained faithful, and accompanied Rochambeau. Along with other officers of his caste he was sent to Corsica, of which he spoke with unfeigned bitterness. As soon as escape was practicable, he effected it on board an English privateer, on board of which he remained three months, and at last arrived in London without money or friends. From this state of destitution he was relieved by Messrs. Staniforth and Blount, and the account of the old man of his pockets being picked of his newly-acquired treasure was quite graphic.

By the good offices of the same gentlemen he made his way to Port-au-Prince, where he was received with open arms by Petion, into whose service he entered, and was appointed to the command of the President's body-guard.

Soon after his arrival, he found that a black officer in the service of Christophe, and in the actual command of a frontier post, who had been reared by his mother, and to whose care he had entrusted his two sisters on quitting the country, had treacherously murdered both for the sake of their property. He solicited the President's leave to take a small body of men to attack his enemy: this was refused on account of the risk. Nothing daunted, Kayer selected from his regiment some men on whom he could depend, and by marching through the woods, subsisting on parched corn, he at last reached his destination, at no great distance from the Cape. He put the sentry to death—went boldly to the door of the commandant, announcing himself as the bearer of despatches from Henry—demanded admission, which was granted. Having placed his companions to guard the door, he presented himself to the astounded commandant, and, after upbraiding him with his ingratitude and treachery, plunged a dagger to his heart. I believe he finished by

setting fire to the house. Pursuit speedily commenced, but his knowledge of the country saved him and his associates, and they returned in safety to Port-au-Prince, where the hardihood of the deed secured the pardon of the military disobedience.

On the death of Christophe he was named the commandant of "La Grand Rivière," at that time in a very disturbed state. He had scarcely assumed the command before a mutiny took place among the soldiery. Two of the ringleaders were shot, and all was quiet. Horse-stealing too had thriven unmolested: La Rivière detected two offenders, "flagrante delicto," and they were shot: horse-stealing ceased. But he recounted with peculiar glee an adventure with a black artillery-man, who considered the corps to which he belonged exempt from ordinary labour. A bridge was to be built, and every man found on the road was impressed to finish this necessary work; among others, the artillery-man was seized. He refused to handle brick and mortar;—he was led before the general, to whom he declared that he would prefer having his head between his feet, to submitting to such degradation. Kayer called out a file of men, ordered them to load, and to take their muskets to the bridge, where, if

he retained his predilections, he was to be instantly shot, and his head cut off and placed between his feet. A little reflection produced a change of resolution, and he was ready to work. I smiled at this narration, and La Riviere thinking that I considered him jesting, looked grave, and seriously assured me, on his honour, that he should have done what he promised. Nor do I doubt that he would.

The old general, in spite of his severity, is just to the poor people around, and I was pleased to hear the market-people (for it was market-day) addressing him as "papa," and all seemed content. The market was crowded with dealers in produce, and with the hucksters from the Cape, who prefer dealing with the people of Grande Rivière on account of their greater wealth and honesty. When riding about, I saw some old iron sugar-pans on the road, which were used for the manufacture of the small quantity of indigo consumed in the district, which was the only trace I saw of a manufacture once of primary importance.

We rode up to "L'Habitation Gallifet," on which the negro insurrection began. The old avenue is still preserved, and the dwelling house of stone is the only residence of an old proprietor that I saw in Haiti in a habitable

condition: even the old back pavement, and clumps of orange trees remain. The site is pretty, on a gently rising eminence that overlooks the village.

After partaking of the hospitality of the general, and of his escort on the way to the Cape, we parted from him, sincerely grateful for his attention, and gratified by the unequivocal delight with which he recurred to the kindness of unknown Englishmen to him. I should have mentioned that Gallifet, in common with numerous other properties, belongs to the President.

On our way to the Cape, we passed as usual through the ruins of another period, and found the roads very tolerable, though not of a first-rate description.

On the 1st of April the Harlequin left the Cape, and I was obliged to part from my brother, whose health was too bad for him to attempt to pursue the journey I contemplated; and from that time to the 15th of the same month, I was employed in inquiries as to the points on which information was required from me. In the course of these researches, I visited different points of the "Quartiers Morin and Limonade," which were formerly the most beautiful districts in the north, and even now

retain evidence of their former splendour. In almost every direction ruined buildings are to be seen, and fields formerly covered with canes, are now over-run with wild Guava trees.

I visited Breda, to which Toussaint had been a slave, and from which he took his first name, Toussaint Breda, and I found that although cultivation is not wholly abandoned, the buildings are one heap of ruins.

In the "Quartier Morin" is the estate Duplat, which also belongs to the President. It formerly belonged to Christophe, and then yielded about four hundred thousand weight of sugar. At present it does not yield fifty thousand pounds, which, for some cause or other, I was told, were unsaleable. I saw about a dozen negroes at work; but there was decidedly more chatter than labour. The overseer or "gerant" actually complained to me of starvation. There were about one hundred flour barrels of sugar in store, which could not be sold.

But as my instructions had particularly directed my attention to the estate Brossard, I took considerable pains to acquire some exact knowledge; and by the assistance of Mr. Thompson, the British vice-consul at the Cape, I obtained the substance of my report to the

government, which has been printed by the order of the House of Commons; and as that document is not in every one's hand, I venture to transcribe it.

“As might be inferred from the name, this estate formerly belonged to M. Brossard, a French colonist, whose daughter married M. Beaumont, another Frenchman. This person became the partner of the black general Richard, afterwards Duke de Marmalade; and, upon the death of the former, the whole was vested in the survivor.

“In Christophe's reign, Richard, who was a marshal of Haiti, and governor of the Cape, collected about one hundred labourers, who were attached to the soil. The produce was, it is said, from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand French pounds of sugar; but no statements could be furnished of any one year. The average may be distrusted, on account of its vagueness and its excessive amount, as compared with the number of labourers. After Christophe's death in 1820, the general relaxation (which I was assured by a native officer of rank to *have been perfect in three months*) affected Brossard in common with all other properties; so that by 1822, when

Richard was executed for a conspiracy against the republic, it was entirely abandoned. In 1824 Madame Richard, to whom the succession devolved, let it to Colonel Neri, who had not time to renew the cultivation before he was ordered to the city of Santo Domingo with his regiment. On his return in 1825, he found the cultivation entirely neglected; and about eleven months ago (April 1827), two years after his return, he had succeeded in collecting eleven persons as labourers, and intended to plant a piece of canes. The rent paid at present I could not learn; from which I infer that it is, as I know it to be elsewhere, merely nominal." Rep. p. 90. 91.

The general result of my inquiries was, that some few of the properties which were in activity in Christophe's time, were kept up for making syrup, which was mainly converted into tafia. The actual quantities I could not then ascertain, though I did so at a subsequent period.

I may here remark, that although I frequently asked for sugar, the produce of the country, I saw none except that of Duplat. Yet it is asserted that large quantities are shipped coastways to Jeremie, Cayes, and other places.

I suspect the truth to be, that sugar raised at home costs more than the smuggler, with his numerous tricks, can import it for.

In a preceding part of my Notes I have given all that I actually collected, without reference to time and place, with respect to the Cape, its revolutions, and its most distinguished rulers. Nothing, therefore, remains for me to do but to pursue the narrative of my journey.

Having ascertained that there was a carriage road as far as St. Iago, and being willing to avoid the sun as much as possible, as well as to give security to my books and papers, I purchased a small cabriolet drawn by three horses; and to have a fair trial of it before matching it with riding-horses and baggage-mules, I left the city at seven o'clock, and crossed the ferry at Petite-Anse. Near Duplat, my carriage and three horses stuck in the slough, and my driver was obliged to engage five dancing negroes from Duplat, already mentioned, to extricate us. This they did, and then carried my companion and myself on their shoulders across the impracticable passage. Owing to this detention, we did not reach Duclaireau, a sugar-farm, until eleven at night; when, by reiterated noises,

we roused an old woman and a cock-eyed fellow out of bed. They furnished a light, by which we devoured a roast-fowl which I had provided, and swallowed some claret, which I had also secured; so that, in spite of these quarters, and a vile bed, I slept like a top.

On the 16th we proceeded to L'Intermediaire, ci-devant Henry, formerly one of Christophe's country-seats and sugar estates, over an indifferent road and through an uncultivated country. L'Intermediaire now belongs to the state, though I suspect it does not contribute very largely to its exigencies.

The house is large, but most unkingly in appearance, being rather that of a barrack than a palace. It is ill-arranged; with abundance of space for attendants. There was a larger quantity of canes in cultivation than I had elsewhere remarked, and the mill and works were in very good order. I could learn nothing of the produce. After some parley with an old black lady, I succeeded in inducing her to produce a fowl and some plantains, and by the time that they were ready the baggage came up; so that after a short rest for the animals, we were on our way to Fort Liberté, formerly Fort Dauphin, and Fort Republicain, and in still more ancient times, Bayaha, which we reached

after dark, having passed several abandoned properties ; the country being, as usual, covered with bayahond, logwood, and wild guava trees. I immediately made my way to the commandant, the black General Lacroix, to whom I handed my passport, and a letter from the government. He received me with the warmest hospitality ; but the aid of the secretary was essential for decyphering the hieroglyphics I had brought. The secretary was an intelligent young black, who had been educated at Christophe's national school, under Gullifer. It cannot be offensive, even to the general and his wife, for me to say they were in every way the most extraordinary couple I ever saw. To add more would be an ill return for the frank hospitality with which I was received by both.

In the evening Colonel Poux, the commandant of the twenty-eighth regiment, waited upon me, and I mention his doing so to record the feats of his brother (General Poux, now dead). This officer was esteemed for his gallantry by Christophe ; but in one of his reckless fits of cruelty, he despatched a band of assassins to put him to death. The general gallantly resisted, and after repelling the assailants, went directly to the king, and upbraided him with his treachery. This manly confidence affected

even his savage nature, and Poux lived ever after in security.

I also saw a black colonel, whose son is at some school in England, an evidence of the effect of Christophe's attempt to make England his model, for completing which he was gradually introducing our language.

Fort Liberté is in a very ruinous state, to which the fact of its being a closed port contributes very essentially; but it must have been a pretty small town, with an admirable harbour well protected by fortifications. The entrance is narrow, but the water deep within the bay, where a large fleet of men-of-war might ride with perfect security. The general endeavoured to revive the industry both of the town and neighbourhood, and for failure the usual reasons, "*faute des bras et des capitaux*," were invariably assigned.

Close to the town there is a pottery for coarse jars and red tiles, which belonged to General Sicard, formerly Christophe's grand chamberlain, who reports that he never felt his head safe on his shoulders until his morning's audience was over. I could not learn that there is much going on in the manufacture.

In the year 1794 this town was occupied by the Spaniards, who invited by proclamation the

fugitive proprietors to return. Most of them did so. Scarcely had they arrived, when the insurgent chief, Jean Français, encamped in the suburbs with his hordes. The following day he entered at their head—the garrison turned out—high-mass was performed—and on a signal given, the whole of the soldiery divided into parties to perpetrate a massacre, which, Lacroix says, had been arranged by the Spanish priest Vasques with the revolutionary leaders. A thousand victims of every age and sex perished, and only fourteen escaped in Spanish uniforms. I ascertained that the murders did take place, though I had no means of tracing the treachery attributed to the Spaniard. Appearances are certainly in favour of Lacroix's statement; for had there been no guilty knowledge, the Spanish troops would not have spontaneously stained themselves with the blood of the helpless and confiding French colonists.

It was my wish to have visited Monte Christi, had the roads not been represented as most wretched. This city was, during the Spanish rule, one of some importance, though now it is a closed port. It was founded in 1533, but was abandoned by the orders of the court in 1606, in consequence of smuggling; but afterwards became one of the ports through which

there was communication with the interior ; and its proximity to the French colony rendered it a very flourishing place. Now I understand it has fallen into entire decay. It stands on the right bank of the Yaqui, which takes its rise nearly in the middle of the Spanish portion of the island, on a point of the Cibao range called “ Pica de Yaqui ;” and after a long and tortuous course, empties itself in the bay of Monte Christi. La Grange, a well-known landmark, lies to the north of the town, forming the extremity of a high tongue of land. I was also desirous of ascertaining if the road from that town to St. Iago was as good as I heard ; but these objects of curiosity were not worth gratifying at the loss of time that would have been required, especially as I believe it to be very generally admitted that the population is scanty, with very little cultivation.

On the morning of the 17th I despatched the baggage for Ouanaminthe, or Juana Mendez, as the Spaniards call it ; and as the distance is short, we did not leave Fort Liberté until a quarter past three in the afternoon. The General, Colonel Poux, and Captain Abel, of the gendarmerie, accompanied us. About a league from the town the old general dismounted. I did so likewise ; we parted with

many benedictions from him, and prayers that the prosperity of the country might be restored by Great Britain. I said all the civil things which his attention and hospitality fully merited, and we parted the best friends imaginable. Mr. Hood would have made a good sketch, with illustrative notes, of the retreat of the veteran chieftain. The road was shaded by splendid trees, and the ride was very agreeable, through several large sugar plantations, which had been worked to considerable advantage by Christophe, who appropriated no small number of them to himself. As usual, no specific details could be obtained, beyond the assertion that now they yield little or nothing. The country appears fertile, covered with bayahond. Poux and Abel accompanied us to Ouanaminthe, a wretched village, consisting of a few thatched huts, and a sorry apology for a chapel, which was lighted up in honour of some festival. The old church had been destroyed in the revolution, and a sort of fort was erected on the site of the parsonage-house. Wretched, however, as every thing promised to be, we were accommodated by the juge de paix and the commandant, with whom we dined. In the course of the evening, while the gastronomic preparations were going on, we visited the ruins

of the church and fort, where in 1791 M. Uravi and about sixty unfortunate whites were surprised and butchered by the ferocious bands of Jean François. The scene, as described to me by an eye-witness, was dreadful. Our cicerone, a black captain in the national guard, was the most uncommunicative person I ever met. In spite of exerting all my ingenuity to get some account of the carnage in which he had assisted, his replies were restricted to "Oui, oui:" whether shame or not influenced him, I cannot determine. I was more fortunate with M. Mehu, the juge de paix, a very intelligent man, who had been one of Christophe's secretaries. From him I got the most ample details of the system of cultivation under that chief, which shall be given in his own words elsewhere.

18th. At an early hour we left Ouanaminthe for Laxavon, when Mr. Thompson (now the British vice-consul at the Cape), who had gone thus far, returned to his post. At this last-named place we crossed the river Massacre, the ancient boundary of the two colonies, which empties itself into the bay of Mancenille. On the left bank of the river the remains of Laxavon or Daxabon stood. This was a place formerly of some importance, from being the

Spanish frontier ; but from the unproductiveness of the soil, it was never much resorted to. This point may be said to be the commencement of the immense plain called “ La Vega Real,” which stretches to the bay of Samana, bounded by the mountain ranges of Monte Christi and Cibao. It is the largest plain in the island, and is traversed in different directions by three large rivers, the Great Yaqui, the Yuna, and the Camou, besides several tributary streams. The Yaqui is said to be navigable at a short distance from its embouchure ; but its rapidity, and the accumulation of large rocks, together with its variable depths, depending on the dry or wet season, render it impracticable further up the stream.

We entered that part of the “ Vega Real,” which, from its want of population, is very appropriately called “ El Despoblado.” We did not meet a single individual before we arrived, after travelling four leagues, at a small hut off the road, in the neighbourhood of which were some small signs of cultivation. It was the house of a grazing establishment of an opulent resident at the Cape, who courteously received us, and furnished milk, cheese, fresh butter, and grass. Every thing else was on a sumpter mule. In conversation with the proprietor,

I had every thing confirmed of the want of population. The only inhabitants that I saw, besides the owner, were two negroes and one negress. The shelter afforded by a few trees around the hut was very agreeable, and we profited by it until the sun had begun to decline. On going, I considered it quite "en règle" to offer the usual douceur to our host; but he indignantly refused it, observing, "L'habit ne fait pas le Moine." I pacified him by observing, that it was intended for the servant: "Ah, c'est une autre affaire," and the servant was not equally fastidious. I cannot say that the indignation was feigned, and that any division of the money took place; if it was, my friend was a practised actor.

Our route for the remainder of the day was equally monotonous: no passengers, the road leading through uncultivated savannas, bounded by some trees, and the chain of Monte Christi to the left. After travelling several leagues, we were fortunate enough to find shelter in a small hut close to the banks of the Jacouba, occupied by one of the herdsmen, a white man and a native, who was civil and ignorant. His lack of utensils of all kinds was deplorable, which I felt; for hitherto I had travelled with merely eatables, trusting to find some vessel

for cooking or washing. Neither was to be found at the hut Jacouba. A twine hammock to swing in, and a few seats fashioned out of the trunk of the cabbage-tree, constituted all the furniture, which the poor fellow readily placed at my disposal, without the unmeaning phrase of “*a la disposicion de usted.*” Finding, on inquiry, that the distance from St. Iago was much greater than I expected from the statements made before leaving Port-au-Prince, I was anxious to push on; but it was necessary to divide the road according to resting places on the way: so we took our quarters for the night. On the 19th we travelled over a district, closely resembling that over which we had passed the preceding day; only that we crossed several streams, tributary to the Yaqui, which were very low, on account of the dry season. Our journey, of many a wearying league, brought us to similar accommodation at “Escalante,” which is the name of a small savanna surrounded with wood. The founder of this establishment, as well as those of others, I remarked had been careful to build very close to a river; the only precaution that appeared to have been ever deemed necessary. The 20th brought us, without any thing remarkable, to L’Hopital, which had been

represented as the end of the first day's journey from Ouanaminthe. On the morning of the 21st, after crossing a small stream, the Mao, we reached a cottage of the same name with the river, decidedly of a better description than any thing I had seen within the Spanish frontier. It was built of boards of the cabbage-tree, and thatched with its leaves. It contained three rooms—had tables; and the chairs, or rather the seats, were cut out of portions of the trunks of the same palm, with backs of the outer part, making very light and comfortable seats. The owner was a European Spaniard, (a Catalan,) named Manuel Rodriquez, a shoemaker by profession. He was married to a coloured woman, and had two grown-up daughters. The unmarried one, his mother-in-law, one of his grandchildren, and a little nephew, with a black labourer, completed the household. Besides the main house, there was an outer building behind for the labourer. My host and his family were among the most intelligent people of their rank I had seen in Haiti. As his profession did not give him sufficient employment, he cultivated a little coffee, some cotton, sugar-canec, which he ground with a small mill worked by two horses, and vege-

tables. He manufactured sugar, syrup, and tafia; from the sale of the surplus of which he added to his limited comforts. There was altogether an air of intelligence, comparative industry, and cheerfulness, that was highly gratifying; and although Rodriquez assured me that he had many compeers, I never had the good fortune to meet one of them. All the party were clean and well clothed. In short, though poor, they were independent, and possessed all that they could desire in a genial climate and a productive soil.

As some of my horses were knocked up, it became necessary, as I was anxious to reach St. Iago before night, after which it was vain to think of crossing the rapid and rugged, and consequently dangerous Yaqui, to hire two horses. My host went in pursuit of a neighbour some two leagues off, and brought Don Francisco Nunez, who might have sat for the original of Quintin Matsy's miser. His countenance was no bad index to his habits. After infinite discussion, I was compelled to take his two brutes to St. Iago at sixteen dollars, he engaging to guide us on such a way that we should end our journey that night. Rodriquez vowed that the charge was out of all measure; but there being no alternative, I was obliged to

submit. As soon as the cavalcade was in motion, I remarked that my host was mounted bare-headed, without a saddle, and guiding his little courser with a rope noosed over his mouth, for the purpose of directing us across a difficult ford, across the Amina, about half a league from his house. Off he started, prancing and curvetting, no bad resemblance to a Cossack of the Apure. It would have puzzled any brother of the gentle craft in London to have ridden a race with my friendly guide. We crossed in safety, all except a loaf of sugar, which was entirely dissolved; a loss of no mean magnitude in such a situation. When quietly reposing within reach of a hundred grocers, this would be never thought of; but here it was a subject of deep regret, and by no one was it more deplored than my two English servants. As soon as Rodriquez had seen the whole party in safety, he left us with many friendly greetings; and on reaching the opposite bank, waved his hands and huzzaed, as long as we could hear him, with as much zeal as if he had been a veritable Cossack. The stream, though not deeper than the middle of the horses, was rapid and dangerous.

Once over, we were at the mercy of Don Francisco *el araro*; and after winding through

rather a pretty country, which had more variety of surface than might have been expected in the midst of an extensive plain, without any signs of the Yaqui, I began to be uneasy, more particularly so, as one of my party had gone off unattended to St. Iago, in order that we might have some dinner and lodging on arriving there, which I expected would have taken place at a late hour. Don Francisco then for the first time announced the impossibility of realising our expectations, as the distance was eight instead of four leagues, according to our first computation. I deemed this a trick, urged on the tarrying animals, but met a traveller who more than confirmed our ill-omened conductor; and after having pressed our steeds to the utmost, we found ourselves, after night-fall, in the middle of a forest, where the best alternative was to select an open space where the baggage might be piled—the mules and horses picketted, so as to graze—a fire lighted, and our hammocks slung. Then matters were arranged without difficulty; but it soon appeared that the expectation of reaching St. Iago that night had led my people to acts of wanton waste, for I expected to find in the panniers enough food for the party, consisting of nine persons: but, lo! there was only a fragment of cheese, a small portion of

bread, and one solitary bottle of putrid Seltzer water. I made an equitable division of all, and fortunately there was no grumbling. I regretted most that there was no water for the cattle. All anxious as I was, I do not recollect that I ever slept more soundly than I did in this my first buccaneering feat, slung between two trees in a wild country—a priori, it would be deemed impossible to do so with impunity under the influence of tropical dews, venomous musquitos, and pestilential swamps; but so it was, that not one of the party suffered inconvenience at the time, nor could I ever trace the general illness that eventually occurred to this individual exposure, but rather to the influence of continued and unceasing exertion for nearly two months, under circumstances of no ordinary suffering and privation; and I am persuaded that it is to this reiterated application of active causes we owe the mortality that prevails among Europeans within the tropics. One exposure may be overcome; but the poison often recurring, becomes identified with the individual, and eventually destroys the powers of life.

Having no bath nearer than the Yaqui, which we found to be more at hand than had been anticipated, man and beast hastened to

its banks—the former to purify, the latter to drink. These important matters being completed, the animals loaded, and all being ready to attempt the passage, I was agreeably surprised by the apparition of my volunteer in company with a stranger on the opposite bank, pointing out the least dangerous part of the ford, which, though low, was extremely rapid, and encumbered with irregular masses of rock, to navigate among which, above the horses' girths deep, for a space equal to the breadth of the Thames at Westminster Bridge, required local knowledge, without which there would have been imminent danger. All the animals, and even the cabriolet, passed over without injury ; and I confess that I felt no slight satisfaction when I saw the last of the train fairly across.

The gentleman who accompanied my companion was a European Spaniard, who had been long established in the country, and then held the office of judge of the civil court. Little occurred worthy of remark, or I was too much fagged to notice any thing, until we approached the city of St. Iago, the vicinity of which was marked by roads that had been good, by some passengers, a few detached houses, and some cultivated patches. On reaching the town, we

were conducted to the house of a Spanish priest, which had been prepared for us through the considerate kindness of the principal people of the place, who had been, without my knowledge, apprised of my coming.

CHAPTER VIII.

St. Iago—Antiquity—Convents—Destruction of town and institutions—Christophe an active agent—Population—Attachment of former slaves to their former owners—Sugar farm—Castes friendly to each other—Cultivation—Increase of births—Duc de Limonade—Cura and Juez de Paz—Journey to Port-au-Plate—Altamira—Landlady—Villanueva's catecismo—Scenery—Hazardous ride—La Puerta—Approach to Port-au-Plate—Guide fantastical and conceited—Arrival at Port-au-Plate—Kind reception—General Jacques Simon—Administrator—Parrot shooting.

FROM the day of arrival (22nd April) to the 26th, I was employed in looking about and getting all the information possible. My friend Don Francisco insisted on my paying sixteen dollars for lodging in the open air: I was obliged to do so. St. Iago de los Cavalleros is one of the oldest cities in Haiti, having been built in 1504. It stands on an elevation on the right bank of the river Yaqui, which forms a deep reach around it, and the banks of which

are richly wooded. It is quite an open town, though there are one or two slight forts for its protection, which have been thrown up during the civil commotions. The streets are regular and well laid out, traversing each other at right angles. Many of the houses are of stone, but the majority are of brick and wood. The conventual buildings (now in ruins) must have been handsome and spacious. One church alone remains of several. St. Iago is considered one of the most healthy spots in the island, and I believe not without foundation. The town had been more than once pillaged by the French during their contests for supremacy with the Spaniards ; but the last and most fatal attack was made by Christophe in 1805. At that time Dessalines, then the chief, determined to make himself master of the Spanish portion, and for that purpose invaded it with two corps. The one commanded by himself, entered by the road through San Juan, Azua, and Bani ; and the second, under the orders of General Clervaux, took the road which I had traversed from the Cape. It is well known that the invaders retired from the siege of the city of San Domingo on the approach of a small French squadron. Dessalines' passions were roused to the highest pitch by this disgrace, and

his course, as well as that of his subaltern, may still be traced amidst ruins and marks of conflagration. Christophe, no unworthy minion of Dessalines, commanded the rear-guard of Clervaux's corps, and on his retreat halted on Good-Friday, of the year 1805, at St. Iago—a day for ever memorable in that devoted place. He commenced with exactions, promising personal protection; but the following day he violated his pledges, set fire to the churches and convents, among which there was an ecclesiastical school for priests, and the best parts of the town, deliberately murdered six priests, and carried off several wretched people as prisoners. His more extensive atrocities were stopped by his immediate commander.

In the Appendix I give some account of this ruthless proceeding, in the words of one of the unhappy sufferers,* who, with all his family, was reduced to the most abject misery.

The population, as a body, is more respectable than usual. The proportion of white and coloured men is very considerable; and the blacks are a stout fine race of men. There is no one rich person, or, at least, who would be so considered elsewhere; but there are degrees of

* See note (H) in the Appendix.

wealth even there. By the most intelligent persons to whom I had access, I was informed that even in the town there are none absolutely poor; for wages are high, being three rials a day, or one shilling and sixpence, or two rials with food. All classes have the means of decent subsistence.

Since the revolution and the establishment of the republican government, great fidelity had been displayed by the former slaves to their masters. They had never been numerous, the discipline never very rigorous, nor had the labour exacted been ever severe. One of the old proprietors, who, from having no other resource, remained with his wife and family, informed me that not one of the former slaves on a small sugar property near to the town had left him; that they retained all the old customs, called him still "Amo," and asked his blessing on their knees whenever he visited them. I had been told that in other parts of Spanish St. Domingo, the slaves, who had been equally well treated with those of St. Iago, had, on the first proclamation of freedom, abandoned their masters to become soldiers, as being a more luxurious life. My informant appointed a time for visiting his estate, that I might see what he described; he was, however, attacked with a

dangerous fit of gout, and had not recovered before my departure. I was, consequently, disappointed.

From this and other statements it would appear that there is a kindly and good feeling of all the castes towards each other in this district; and all of them appear to be what they are represented, highly respectable and well conducted. In proof of this, no insult was offered to the whites at the period of the revolution. I was not a little amused with the contemptuous mode in which even the blacks speak of their western neighbours as “*aquellos negros*.”

It did not appear to me that the arrangements with France were more acceptable than in other districts; and I do not think the people, if even willing, (which they are not,) can pay any part of the contribution.

Tobacco is the principal object of culture: other objects of colonial agriculture are partially attended to. Formerly there was a considerable trade in cattle; but it has been nearly annihilated by the non-intercourse between Haiti and the neighbouring islands: a grievance that is very rightly attributed to the change of governors. Under the Spanish rule there was free communication: now there is none whatever. A bullock, which formerly sold for thirty

or forty dollars, is sold at St. Iago for six or eight.

The population of the district forms more than one-sixth of that of the whole of the east, and was estimated at eleven thousand and fifty-six souls, which is augmenting, according to the information of the "officier de l'état civil," (who keeps the register of births, deaths, and marriages,) in a very wonderful degree. The deaths average one hundred annually, while the births average five hundred; thus giving, if correct, an annual increase of four hundred, which is, in proportion to the reputed population, 3-61 per cent., far exceeding the rate in England and Wales. This rapid increase is ascribed by the inhabitants to the salubrity of the climate, the facility of maintaining a family, and to the general practice of one man having only one wife, which does not prevail to the same extent on the French side.

General Prevost (the Duc de Limonade) held the command; but he became tired of the post, and was succeeded by General Prophete, one of the chief conspirators against Christophe. He ruled with a rod of iron. Complaints were at last made, and a commission sent to inquire into his conduct: the result was his dismissal. He was succeeded by General Belliard, who

had been registrar of the national domains under Christophe. From this officer I received much attention during my stay. I frequently rode out with him, and remarked with surprise the small number of houses that were to be seen. This he explained, by telling me that the habit of the country people is to hide their dwelling in the midst of trees.

I was visited on the 24th by the "Cura" and the "Juez de Paz," both respectable men. The former seemed more conversant with passing events than might have been expected in so retired a nook; for, among other topics, he introduced the Thames Tunnel, the existence of which he at first seemed to consider very apocryphal; but, on being assured that such a work had actually been undertaken, he regarded it as the eighth wonder of the world.

On the morning of the 26th, accompanied by one of my party, and General Belliard's secretary as our guide, I left St. Iago for Port-au-Plate, which, being the only open port in the north of the eastern division, was worth seeing. The road runs to the northwest, along that portion of the plain of La Vega Real which derives its name from St. Iago, to a considerable distance before reaching the formidable mountains that form the range of

Monte Christi. The greater portion is well shaded by immense forest trees, intermingled with flowering plants on the road-side. After the ascent has once begun, it is exceedingly rapid; and the road, from neglect, is in wretched order, and often overhangs some ugly precipices, at the base of which mountain streams dash with a brawling activity. The breadth of the path renders it not at all dangerous. After having passed through one continued mountain forest of mahogany trees, which it seems may be felled by those that list—the abricotier or *mammea grande*, laden with its large rough fruit—the cabbage and cedar trees, besides numberless others—we arrived at a small hamlet named Altamira, composed of about fifty huts, which were built of the same materials as Rodriguez's cottage at Mao. The cabbage-tree is truly the prop of the eastern Haitian: he eats the upper part of it; he builds and covers his house with its various parts; and he fashions his furniture out of its trunk.

We stopped, by the direction of our guide, nearly in the middle of the village, at the most respectable-looking house in it, which belongs to “a widow bewitched,” named Gertrude Hermina, who, while preparing some chocolate and

other refreshments, cross-questioned me very narrowly as to my name, quality, and objects, which I answered to the best of my ability; and her gratitude was so excited by my communications, which amounted to nothing, that she amused me with her own history. She had married early, and had six daughters; one a widow with two infants; the rest unmarried, three being perfect children. Her husband had been faithless, and, under pretence of business, resides on the sea-shore with another woman, leaving the poor Señora to her own resources. These she seems to have managed discreetly, by cultivating a small patch of land, and keeping a sort of shop for spirits, wine, sugar, and other matters, as well a house of call for travellers, who need not complain either of her civility or the fare set before them. She had not confined her care of her children to merely rearing and clothing them: the girls could read, and I found one of them busily occupied with Dr. Villaneuva's "Catecismo," written chiefly for the Americas, and published by Mr. Ackerman, in the Strand.

The situation of Altamira is truly fine—a small level surface bounded by vallies of no extent, well cultivated, through which innumerable brooks dash; while the whole is bounded

by a succession of receding mountains, studded with magnificent trees, so as to form a complete amphitheatre. It is beautiful, and the air of seclusion is not to be surpassed any where. I could not help thinking how admirably it was fitted to be a retreat for any one who wished to withdraw from all terrestrial pursuits : he would have as much leisure for meditation, and a less hazardous post than that of Simon Stylites. I am persuaded that in almost every direction, within a small circle of three miles, situations would be found whither human foot never now penetrates.

Having reposed from ten till two, the hottest part of the day, we parted from our kind though garrulous hostess, leaving strict directions to have meet preparation made for us on the second day after. We found the road still worse than it had hitherto been. Recent rains having rendered the valley road impassable, we were constrained to pursue that over the mountains, the acclivities of which are so steep, that I can compare them to nothing else than the roof of a house. This was particularly the case on the last ascent we were doomed to try, called " La Puerta," where, if the rider had attempted to maintain the usual position on horseback, it cannot be doubted that he would have fallen

backwards. I was obliged to bring my nose nearly to a level with my horse's neck. But if the ascent were bad, how much more atrocious was the descent? The steepness in each was the same; but there had been most rain on the northern side, and the whole road either had, or appeared to have, cross bars of some solid matter covered with clay, while the intervals were filled with the softest mud, rendering the stepping of the horse most insecure. Indeed, one of the party was fairly unhorsed, and his steed laid on his side; and it cost no small effort to extricate both. I met two bullocks dragging up, on a sort of sledge, one iron sugar-pan of very small size. About a league from the town of Port-au-Plate we got into more level ground, and were delighted with the luxuriant appearance of the plain, bounded by the distant view of the sea. At a short distance from the roadside stands the sugar estate of General Jacques Simon, the commandant of the arrondissement, the buildings on which appeared to be wretched huts; but the property is understood to be the best and most productive in that part of the island.

Further on there are some neat cottages, surrounded with remarkably well-dressed gardens and fenced fields. On inquiry, I learned that

they were the dwellings of some North American emigrants—the few who remained of all the first parties who had so eagerly sought the land of liberty and equality.

We parted with our guide on entering the town, he to seek his own quarters, and we to go to the house of the partner of a respectable firm at Cape Haitian. He was a very amusing fellow in his way, quite such a “bavard” as you sometimes meet in France, differing only in complexion; he talked “de omni scibili,” abounded in lies and grimaces, was “himself the hero of each little tale,” and was as ignorant of every thing connected with his country as if he had just fallen from the clouds. Whenever he found himself fairly at fault, and unable to answer any inquiry, with an indescribably ludicrous expression of countenance, and flourish of a huge cane that he carried, he uniformly exclaimed “par bleu!” “sacre bleu!” “mon Dieu!” and not another word could be extracted from him on the unmanageable subject. These words were as useful to him as the two magical English monosyllables to Figaro. I rarely have met with so inveterate and unreflecting a liar. In the course of a very short time he convicted himself of falsehood at least five times. Yet the man was civil, and meant

to be useful. The best apology that can be made for him is that of my old French master, who, whenever he heard any one abused for cowardice, always defended him by saying, "Oh, it is not his fault—it is his infirmity."

I found the gentleman to whom I had letters of introduction absent with another English merchant in the mahogany district, but we were hospitably received by the wife and mother-in-law of the former; but having been actually ten hours and a-half on the road, exclusive of the time spent at Altamira, I was fevered to such a degree as to be glad to seek repose in the house of the English absentee, where every preparation had been made by his orders for me. Bed and copious dilution of tea enabled me early on the morning of the 27th to be on the alert. After looking through the town, which is a collection of wretched cabbage-tree huts, such as I have already described, I was visited by the general and all the authorities, as well as by the Cura, of whom some very unclerical reports are in circulation, which were duly related to me by his undutiful flock.

General Jacques Simon was one of Christophe's old generals, and on the appointment of General Belliard to the command of the citadel, had charge of the domains. He commanded one of the three divisions sent to repel

the rebels at Haut du Cap, all of which, when ordered to fire on the enemy, ran over with cries of "Vive la liberté." Simon accompanied his corps, and held his command thenceforward at Port-au-Plate. He is an intelligent little black man, tolerably educated, exceedingly decent in his manners, and has the reputation of being a brave soldier. About two months before the time of which I speak, he had an opportunity of proving that his character for courage was merited. In order to enable the troops to earn something beyond their pay, they are allowed to cut mahogany all the week, if they choose; but they are obliged to do what may be necessary on the public works on Sunday. These gentlemen refused to comply with the latter condition, and would not march off from parade to the works, on the score of their pay being five months in arrears, which it actually was. Simon, with a brace of loaded pistols, went up to the leading file, ordered them to face to the right and march: they obeyed. The arms were piled.

In the evening I rode out, and was much amused with the gasconade of the administrator, who, by his own account, far transcended in chivalry Amadis de Gaul, or any of King Arthur's knights. One of his feats, not of the same character, is worthy of record, as a proof

of the bluntness of the moral sense in some men. He had been a regimental paymaster under Petion. Finding his allowances inadequate, he made false returns of the strength, drew the pay of the men of straw, and pocketed it. This was discovered, and *he was sent to be a purser of one of the vessels of war!* This he gravely told as a wondrously clever feat. Other tales, equally creditable, are current of this worthy.

Our ride added nothing to my knowledge of the country, for it only presented the scene, so often witnessed, of rank vegetation undisturbed by the hand of man, except to trace a road. For the first time I saw a sportsman returning home, with a dozen or two of parrots hanging from his fowling-piece.

As our two hosts had returned by the evening, we dined with them, and met all the persons whom we had seen in the morning, one of whom complained that, as he was an abstemious man, Madeira wine was too powerful; yet, before rising, he contrived to finish a bottle of Hollands.

It is said, though with what truth I know not, that in the neighbourhood there are rich mines of gold, silver, and copper.

The town was formerly flourishing, but was

proscribed for smuggling with Monte Christi in 1606. Now a small trade is carried on in mahogany and some of the minor productions of the country.

CHAPTER IX.

Return to St. Iago—Gold dust—Former abundance—Recent researches—General Belliard—Account of Christophe—Hospitality of inhabitants—National school—Departure—Santo Cerro—Chapel—View of La Vega Real—Ancient city of Concepcion de la Vega—Ruins—River Camou—La Vega—General Placide Lebrun—Lodging—Guitars—Bands playing—Fête d'agriculture—Colonel Charlemagne—M. Deschamps—Peñal—River Yuna—Cotuy—Constance—Servico—Monte de Don Juan—Sleeping in the woods—San Pedro—La Louisa—Arrival at Santo Domingo.

ACCOMPANIED by our two hospitable acquaintance, on the morning of the 28th we were again on the road to St. Iago, without having gained any information to compensate for the actual labour and fatigue. The intervening dry day induced us to try the valley road, and we nearly had reason to regret having done so, as we were obliged to travel at a foot's pace, from the depth of mud. We soon, however, got into the road over which we had

already gone, after having escaped that terrible “La Puerta;” rested at Altamira, and arrived late in the evening at St. Iago, having crossed, in the course of the day, at least thirty-three streams, all of which, except the Yaqui, being then very paltry.

The two days that I spent at this place were devoted to complete my stock of local knowledge; and, among other points, I was curious to learn the causes of the failure of the Mining Association. Two phials, that contained at least three ounces each, filled with gold dust, in the form called by the Spaniards “pepitas,” gathered by hand from the sands of the Yaqui, were exhibited to me. One of the grains was as large as the end of my little finger. There can thus be no doubt that gold does exist; though it does not appear that it is in the form of ore. The report at St. Iago was, that the agent of the company sought for mines, and found none. If he did so, without attending to gold washings, in a district in which it could not be questioned that the metal existed, he must have been deplorably ignorant of what he ought to have known before he undertook the duties of his office. If, on the other hand, he did attend to the washings, how did he conduct the inquiries—by experiment or talking?

And why have the world been kept in ignorance of his proceedings? The Association interested expended a considerable sum of money, and I think they are entitled to a full account of all that was done. My own conviction is, that with suitable machinery, gold washings might be advantageously carried on on the banks of the Yaqui, Rio Verde, and various other streams connected with the ancient auriferous district of Cibao. Yet, though this is probable, it might be a question with sober people how far capital could be safely vested in such a pursuit in a country where the civil institutions cannot be said to be firmly fixed.

From General Belliard I had much satisfactory information respecting Christophe, which he was able to give with more than common accuracy, from the confidential situations he had held for many years. Among other facts, he mentioned that Duplat and other properties, which Christophe had appropriated to himself, usually yielded four hundred thousand weight of sugar each. This may be possibly an exaggerated statement; but there is no doubt, from the returns which I shall hereafter give, that the produce was very far beyond what it is at present. Christophe never paid for any thing in money—always in produce; while he exacted gold and

silver for all that he sold. The money thus acquired was hoarded, and accounts for the accumulated wealth at the Citadel. Besides his sugar and coffee plantations, he had enormous grazing establishments, and he monopolized the supplies of meat. No butcher could buy from any other person, unless when he granted a license, which he only gave in consequence of an apprehension of exhausting his stock of cattle.

He was not only a drunkard, but an epicure ; and among other proofs of his *Vitellian* propensities, he never would eat either the Muscovy or common duck, but reared with uncommon care a cross-breed of both, which he considered a superior delicacy. Upon the whole, he was described by the general as a savage monster, blood-thirsty, lustful ; but acute, intelligent, and an accurate observer, and much too violent to dissemble to the same extent as Toussaint, whose powers of dissimulation are described by all that knew him, as equal to those ascribed to Talleyrand.

All M. Mehu's account of the agricultural system was fully confirmed by Belliard, who also added, that the disorganization of that system, and the establishment of idleness, was rendered complete by Richard in three months

after Christophe's death. So truly the poet says, "*facilis est descensus Averni.*"

The Noyades, which I formerly mentioned as having been practised in the French army, were, according to the accounts of the general, who was an eye-witness, carried to a frightful extent, and were really effected in the manner mentioned. An entire regiment, commanded by General Guerrier, were drowned between the Cape and Fort Dauphin, at the time of the evacuation of the latter place. Their commander escaped by insisting on travelling by land. Such was the belief in French cruelty, that it was asserted to me, though never by an eye-witness, that Rochambeau, to train blood-hounds, used to bait the unhappy negro prisoners in front of the government-house, and those poor wretches were literally torn to pieces. For the honour of human nature I trust that this is mere rumor. Heaven knows, the ample store of well-authenticated atrocities in this devoted island needs neither embellishment nor addition.

During my stay at St. Iago, I was treated with the utmost hospitality, though somewhat of a novel kind. I was lodged in the priest's house, and was not allowed to purchase a single thing for my table. Every day my breakfast and dinner were brought by some smirking black

girls, who were the deputies of the commandant, the chief judge, and the "officier de l'état civil," who never came near me at the hours of repast, but insisted most sturdily on my being their guest. To have refused would have given offence, and I submitted.

There is a house building for the president, as is the case at most of the principal towns, though the progress is slow, from the want of funds. It will be a large straggling place, without the least pretension to elegance. Its chief recommendation is its situation, which is very delightful, overlooking the plain, with the river rolling rapidly round the foot of the eminence on which it stands, and is accessible to every breeze that can blow.

The distance from the Cape to St. Iago is estimated at forty-one leagues. I think it must exceed sixty; and I may mention, as a proof of the neglected cultivation, that from Fort Liberté to the last town, I could never find a blade of Guinea grass for my cattle, but was driven to turn them out to graze on the parched savannas, with occasional feeds of Indian corn. At St. Iago, General Belliard has succeeded in introducing the cultivation of the Guinea grass, though the prejudices of the people were strongly opposed to it.

There is a national school at St. Iago, but no teacher; the person sent from the capital by the Education Commission having been utterly incompetent.

Having taken leave of all my friends, before day-break on the morning of the 1st of May I found myself on the road to the town of La Vega. The scenery was the most pleasing of any that I passed through since leaving the frontier, though there was, "*ut mos est*," no trace of cultivation, except a few plantain walks, at all visible. By the bank of a small stream, the name of which my guide did not know, we breakfasted in the shade, and then proceeded to the Santo Cerro, from which Columbus first surveyed the magnificent plain of "*La Vega Real*." He also planted a rude cross, said to have been the first erected in his new discovery: the cross has since been removed to the cathedral of San Domingo, though the chapel erected on the spot where it stood is still kept up, and is still resorted to by pious pilgrims. Immediately before getting to the chapel, we found a small village, in which the guardians of the sacred spot reside. On entering the building, nothing remarkable presented itself, beyond some wretched daubs, representing, or at least affecting to represent, the con-

tests of the Indians with the Spaniards, in which victory was always ensured to the latter by some saintly apparition dealing out fleshly weapons with infinite zeal and activity. Among others, the Virgin Mary seated on a cloud was coolly levelling an harquebuss at an Indian cacique, doomed to die. The old woman and her aide-de-camp were exceedingly diffuse in their wondrous narrations, which I was under the necessity of curtailing, to avoid being overtaken by nightfall on the road. A small gratuity "por los pobres" was very thankfully received, and before descending, I gazed with increasing delight on the splendid scene at our feet. Viewed from the Cerro, the La Vega Real stretches so far to the east as to appear to be interminable—so richly wooded, as to impress the beholder with the belief that it is clothed with a never-ending forest. Indeed, I am convinced that, with very slight changes, the same scene is now displayed that is said to have delighted the illustrious discoverer, who ever dwelt with fond affection on this first fruit of his adventurous enterprise.

The descent is steep and rugged : once ended, the road (which is the direct one between St. Iago and La Vega) is broad and good, well screened by the trees on the summits of which we had

been recently looking down. In the middle of an entangled part of the forest, the remains of the ancient city of La Concepcion de la Vega lie scattered in awful confusion. The church, mint, and fort may, it is said, be still traced ; I, however, only saw the former, the gothic door-way and window distinctly marking it. It was a most flourishing establishment until 1564, when it was overwhelmed by an earthquake, which left no building standing, and destroyed nearly all the inhabitants. Unlike the Guatemalians, who rebuilt several times on the ruins of their overwhelmed city, the La Vegans abandoned their altars for ever, and some of them laid the foundation of the present city, town or village of La Vega.

A peasant on the road, who conducted us to the ruins, was intelligent and civil, and to my surprise refused a gratuity when offered to him. He must have done so from some principle of duty, for all his phraseology was tinged with religion. I marvelled how religious principles could find a place in such a district.

Pursuing our route, we found ourselves on the banks of the Camou, a deep and rapid, though barren stream. Soon after passing the ford, we were at the end of our day's journey, having travelled fifteen leagues. My cabriolet

with all my papers had not, however, appeared ; and as any accident to them would have been irreparable, as soon as I had paid my compliments to the commandant, General Placide Lebrun, I occupied myself with despatching messengers to assist in case of any mishap, and it was fortunate that this was done, for the driver and his guide had made up their minds to pass the night on the road, on account of some trifling derangement to the carriage. That, however, being set right, my anxieties were relieved, so as not to affect the vigour with which I applied myself to the discussion of a hasty meal that was provided for me, in a miserable hut, the only one to be had, in which my quarters were fixed.

The evening being fine, I strolled out, and was strongly reminded of the peninsula by the tinkling of guitars, and the monotonous chant so familiar to all who have visited Spain. I saw enough during my stroll to convince me, that if La Vega ever had any glories, they had vanished, as nothing but a miserable collection of wooden houses was to be seen.

I have hitherto omitted to notice a custom which is rather irksome to a way-worn traveller. Whenever any stranger of note arrives, to whom it is deemed proper to pay honour, a band always

attends, and plays as long as he chooses, expecting a handsome *douceur* for so doing. I was obliged to undergo this ceremony at La Vega, as I had been at every principal town that I had visited. The band of the Cape really played well, although I have not done honour to it in the place most befitting.

The 1st of May is that on which the “*fête d’agriculture*” is celebrated; yet there were no signs of exuberant joy, unless the hoisting the national flag in the middle of the “*Place d’Armes*,” or the firing of cannon, be so considered.

In spite of dirt, fleas, and musquitos, I managed to sleep with infinite perseverance until the following morning, when I had intended to have proceeded on my journey, though the scheme was defeated. I spent the best part of the day with the General and the “*Commandant de la Place*,” Colonel Charlemagne, one of the few educated black men I had known personally. The former had been Count de Gros Morne under Henry, who is reported not to have treated him with much delicacy; yet it was clear that there was a lingering feeling of regret for stars, ribbands, and privileges, which are no longer attainable. Both these officers confirmed all that I had ever heard from others

of Christophe's depravity and intelligence. This personage had secured as favourable associations with his name at La Vega as at St. Iago, having there committed, in 1805, unheard-of atrocities. The want of energy and the moral paralysis of the present day was strongly contrasted, by my informants, with the vigour and activity of the older system.

In the evening I made the acquaintance of an old French medical gentleman named Deschamps, who had been settled there upwards of forty years, and having no means of subsistence elsewhere, had been forced to remain after the establishment of the republican government. Poor old man ! cut off from all that a man of education can deem the world, his fate is the most unenviable that can be imagined : he is by no means insensible to its inconvenience, yet he bears it with that practical philosophy which is so peculiarly familiar to Frenchmen, and which seems to have a self-adapting power to circumstances where they cannot be controuled. He was very intelligent, and had the goodness to furnish me with an itinerary to San Domingo, which I found eminently useful.

Under the escort of the friendly commandant, we quitted La Vega before day-break on the morning of the 3d of May, and after travelling

thirteen leagues over a wild uncultivated country, only practicable to horsemen, we stopped at a "hatto" named Peñal, where we had a cabbage-tree cut down for our breakfast. There was a poor miserable deformed boy about fourteen years of age, who called forth much compassion. Under any circumstances, deformity and helpless decrepitude are grievous ills; but in such a wilderness, where the death of one or two individuals might leave the unhappy sufferer to perish piecemeal, they are horrible. Such scenes do not confirm Rochefoucault's maxim, "*Il y a quelques choses dans les malheurs des nos amis, que ne nous deplait pas ;*" but they ought to excite a feeling of deep gratitude to Heaven in all more fortunately placed. At the close of the day we arrived on the banks of the Yuna, a fine deep river, which empties itself into the bay of Samana. We travelled on its banks through overshadowing forests for about three quarters of a league before reaching the ford, which is deep, and about as wide as the Thames at Vauxhall. We had some difficulty in stemming the force of the current with our wearied animals, but at last succeeded in gaining the right bank, whence we proceeded to the miserable village of Cotuy. At the house of the commandant, Colonel Sanchez, we were bluntly received; but in

the course of the evening friendly relations were established, and we all supped together, of course on the produce of my cook's labours. Here we obtained forage with difficulty, and to get water, even for the drinking, it was necessary to send to the Yuna, which is a fine body of water.

Cotuy was never a place of much importance, though it was founded very early (in 1505); but in its neighbourhood there are said to be mines which were worked so lately as 1747, having been previously abandoned from a dearth of labourers. The latter workings were directed by the father of Valverde, the historian of Santo Domingo. The principal mine, in the mountain called Maymon, is of copper, which contains eight per cent of gold. Lapis lazuli has been found in the same mine; and not far distant, it is reported that emeralds have occurred. Iron in a very pure state also abounds in the neighbourhood.

Cotuy is also near to the gold mines of Cibao, the highest mountain range in Haiti; in which Spanish cupidity is said to have entombed thousands of Indians. Although now wholly unproductive, their reputation of richness is almost unbounded. Not only are the mines reported to abound in this precious metal, but

the sand washed down by the mountain streams is reported to be charged with it; and out of their produce as much as two hundred and forty thousand crowns of gold have been struck off in one year in the mint of Concepcion de la Vega. A great quantity, besides what was brought to the mint, was supposed to have been secreted to avoid payment of the king's dues.

Rearing herds of cattle forms the chief employment in this district. Houses too, though not numerous, are more frequently seen on the way-side; and grass, plantain, and other tropical esculents, with a little tobacco, are cultivated; but I could not learn that more was raised than was necessary for home use.

At a very moderate distance is the mountain valley of Constance, situate on the Cibao range, where wheat has been raised with perfect success, and which is said to be at times very cold.

After quitting Cotuy, (which we did on the morning of the 4th of May,) we found the character of the country changing very considerably from what it had previously been. Instead of the varied surface richly wooded, we now saw nearly one extensive plain, occasionally rising into round knolls, with a few scattered clumps of trees, chiefly the cashew apple and wild guava, bearing in general character

a very close resemblance to the arid plains of Castile: there is the same parched appearance, the same sandy soil, the same want of trees. After fording the river Maguaca, we entered upon a large savanna, well called la savanna grande. To me it seemed interminable. We afterwards crossed another stream, the Chaquey; and amid some wood we fell in with a small hut, to which, with some others that were not visible, the name of Sevico-blanco is given. The door was open, and the embers of the fire were not extinguished; but there was no semblance of any living being. At last, by dint of peering into every corner, I spied a negro boy in a plantain walk, who, on being discovered, run off like a wild deer. By starting, and making every kind of noise that I could, an old negress sallied forth to ascertain who the intruders were. We soon negotiated a treaty of amity and commerce, and the boy went in quest of fowls and eggs, while his grandam (for such the old lady turned out to be) gathered plantains, renovated the fire, and assisted in our culinary operations. She had endeavoured to avoid us, believing us to be a party of marauding soldiers, of whom she had a most holy horror. There was produced (very unexpectedly) some forage for the almost exhausted animals. Sevico is

chiefly remarkable for its desolate appearance, and for the most enormous sand-flies I ever saw, of a black colour, and literally causing the blood to flow from their bite after they are satiated. It was vain to slay one colony in the hope of relief, for the vacant ranks were instantly filled up. At some distance we crossed the Majaqual; after which we found ourselves once more in a hilly region, displaying all the characters that distinguish similar districts through which I had previously travelled—equally beautiful, wild, and uncultivated. We did not meet or see a single individual. After having gained the mountain, called, wherefore I know not, *el Monte de Don Juan*, the cattle were so completely knocked up, that I was compelled to abandon all hope of reaching the “hatto” de San Pedro; and selecting an open space, where the animals might graze, and where hammocks might be slung, we prepared to bivouack for the night; and after a scanty supper, we spent the night “*sub diô*,” and on the following morning, (the 5th,) as soon as our stray horses could be collected, the party was on the way to the “*Rio Vermejo*.” After having extricated ourselves from this branch of the Don Juan range, the country became *cham-pagne*, through which we wearily went, until

the long-expected San Pedro appeared on a small eminence to the right. We readily obtained admission ; but not so any provender. First a black boy and then a black man appeared, each ringing the changes, to all entreaties and supplications, on the two melancholy words " no hay." One of the party, however, discovered a store of tassajo and plantains. We insisted on purchasing—blackey insisted on not selling ; but finding us resolute as well as numerous, and, moreover, really inclined to pay, he consented to stay our appetites. Having settled these matters, I was anxious to know why he refused to sell what he had at his disposal, with the certainty of profit, as he might be sure a man in my situation would not higggle much. His answer was characteristic of the country. It seems that he procured his provisions at some distance from his residence, and that he sought them only once a-week. Now, if he sold his weekly stock, he would be obliged to make another journey, which he did not choose to do, although he had leisure enough to make it each day in the week. Profoundly ignorant, my host could give no information on any subject ; yet he spoke of his western neighbours with contempt, as inferior to himself and his countrymen of the east. He remembered

the inroads in the time of Dessalines, but could give no account of any thing beyond the fact that the army was "muy barbaro."

A fatiguing ride over rather a pretty country brought us to the "hatto de la Louisa," which is off the road, situated in a beautiful knoll embowered with trees, at the foot of which runs rapidly a small stream, tributary either to the Isabella or Ozama, the name of which I could not learn. At La Louisa the people were wondrous civil in despite of the itch, which affected them all. Under such circumstances it will not be considered remarkable that we once more bivouacked. During our supper under two large mango trees, numerous half-starved dogs, allured by the smell, surrounded us so completely, and made such daring incursions, that we were in danger of losing even our scanty fare. One luckless wight approached incautiously, and I gave him a kick that seemed to affect his master's feelings very severely; for angry remonstrance, followed with threats, compelled me in turn to threaten to exterminate both master and dog if any further trespass occurred. This, backed by the appearance of fire-arms, induced the chiefs to draw off their disappointed curs, and leave us in peace and quiet. We were driven to make our

toilet on the banks of the small river which we had crossed the preceding evening. At La Louisa Indian corn was to be bought in sufficient quantity for the wants of the four-footed portion of the party.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 6th, the gentleman who had pushed on to St. Iago offered to move in advance to St. Domingo, in order to secure lodgings and stabling. I followed with the remainder of the party. We crossed the Ozama at two small streams called "Las Yucas," and passed through a country abounding in lofty trees, though without much apparent cultivation for ten leagues, when we reached a small posada kept by an emigrant French creole, at an angle of the river Isabella, where, uniting with another stream, it proceeds to its confluence with the Ozama, which forms the harbour of San Domingo. Our host had escaped during the horrors of the revolution, and had ever since resided near this spot with his family. After all the privations to which we had been subject since leaving St. Iago, this little inn appeared to be infinitely comfortable : there was shelter from the sun, and abundance of food for men and animals, and a bustling activity very different from our anti-commercial friend at San Pedro. Being Sunday, there were

many neighbours and kinsfolks, who readily conversed, and gave the air of approaching an inhabited district. In truth, for the journey of the last few days I question whether we should have felt more thoroughly cut off from the world if we had been in the midst of the Great Desert of Africa. One of my mules had become so sick, that I was under the necessity of leaving him at board and lodging with the Frenchman, as well as to hire a deputy to carry his burthen.

On leaving "La Isabella" we fell into the "Paseo Real," a broad spacious road running through a dense forest, in the breaks of which patches of limited cultivation appear. Four leagues is the distance from the posada to the city, as it is emphatically called by the inhabitants.

My attention was strongly roused by hearing, at an angle of the road, screams of agony. I pressed on, and found an old black man beating, with a stake that he could scarcely wield, a black boy apparently about fifteen or sixteen. The poor fellow's woolly head was matted with gore, and the unfeeling old ruffian, after knocking him down, dragged him by the feet through the dust and stones. Whenever the boy escaped from his grasp, he threw himself on his

knees, screaming, "Mata me, padre, mata me!" Each appeal was followed by blows that seemed to show that it was not fruitless. I hastily rode up, exclaiming against such barbarity, but the only answer was that he might do what he pleased with his own. Reasoning with such a beast was out of the question; and when hesitating what to do, lest interference might ensure more atrocious usage as soon as the fear of my pistols should be withdrawn, three or four stout countrymen came out of the wood and took away the poor boy, leaving his brutal parent to himself. Had not the proceeding been interrupted, I have no doubt that the boy would have been killed; and such, I understood afterwards, is the unbounded respect paid by the child to his parent among these people, that nothing could have tempted him to have resisted.

Almost immediately after this scene, I met the son and aide-de-camp of the commandant, General Carrière, who had politely sent out a carriage to take me into town. Approaching the city by the suburb of San Carlos, and passing through crowds of people in "their Sunday's best," we entered over a draw-bridge, and took up our quarters at a sort of inn or lodging-room at the extreme end of the principal street, which had been secured for us by the

gentleman who had undertaken the duties of an avant-courier in the morning. The distance from St. Iago is estimated at about seventy-three leagues—it cannot be much less than two hundred and twenty miles—making the ground I had gone over from the Cape not less than four hundred English miles.

CHAPTER X.

Generals Borgella and Carriè—Vicar-general—Visit to the archbishop and palace—Return of visit—State of feeling—Borgella's history of General Beauvais—Fontaine—La-pointe—San Carlos—The suburb—Señor Caminero—Lamotte Duthier—A remarkable man—Strange anecdote of a Maroon chief—Description of city—History—Peculiar mode of building—Cathedral—Tomb of Columbus—Monasteries—Hospitals—Barracks—Newspaper—Printing-press—Harbour—Trade—Population—Adjoining country—Cottages—Gardens—Agriculture—Borgella's estate—San Cristoval—Regency—Shrine—Expedient to secure labour—Former want of cultivators—Cattle-breeding—Causes of depression—Attempts of Spaniards to recover the colony.

HAVING letters for the general commanding, Borgella, the commandant de la Place, General Carriè, and the vicar-general, Don Jose Aybar, I devoted the day after my arrival to visits, and was kindly received by all. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 8th, I waited, under the escort of the vicar-general, on the archbishop of San Domingo, (also the primate of the Indies), whom I was very desirous of

seeing, as his reputation for personal integrity stood very high. His name is Dr. Don Pedro Valera y Ximenes. The archiepiscopal palace is a large unadorned stone square building, after the Spanish fashion, with a quadrangle in the centre, from which spacious steps lead to the first floor, which is occupied by the archbishop and his officers. The simplicity and want of ornament were strongly contrasted with the residences of many Catholic prelates in Europe, and even with the republican style of the palace at Puebla of the late courtly Perez. In the anti-rooms we met two clergymen, who ushered us into another chamber, into which his Grace, or "su ilustrissimo," as the Spaniards address their prelates, very soon entered. At this interview he was reserved, though polite, and seemed much gratified by my having paid him so early a visit. He was (in 1827) in his sixty-ninth year, quite grey, of a clear dark complexion, with intelligent yet mild black eyes. His dress was as simple as might be, being the plainest black robes. Our visit was short, and on the motion of the vicar-general we retired, the archbishop over-ruling our opposition to his accompanying us to the gateway, at which he bestowed his benediction. I learned that his influence with his flock is unbounded, and that

such is the unsullied character of his life, as to ensure the respect of those to whom he is politically opposed, and the valuable appellation among his friends of "un prelado santo."

He is a native of the city, and was appointed to the see in 1813 by the regency in Spain, though the Papal Bull was not issued for four years afterwards. Under the Spanish government, his salary, exclusive of episcopal dues, was ten thousand dollars a-year. On the revolution in 1822, the republicans offered him three thousand dollars, which he has declined to receive, as well as to take the oaths of allegiance to the new government. He has never since celebrated divine service, but confines himself to watching over his flock, on whose voluntary contributions he supports himself and his dependants, the extent of which is very far beyond what might be expected in a country apparently so poor.

The good old vicar-general, who is also the dean of the cathedral, in our way home, amused me not a little by expressing his firm belief that in a very short time England would be re-united to the church of Rome. I shortly endeavoured to point out the progress of public opinion in favour of Catholic relief, little expecting that that great act of justice was so

near being accomplished. All my details only served to confirm the old gentleman's opinion. I did not discuss the question with him, or attempt to state the distinction between toleration in its most extensive sense, and the adoption of the opinions of the tolerated party—for to have refuted his millenian schemes would have inflicted real pain on him.

On the day following, the archbishop, accompanied by the canon Don Francisco Gonzales, the last rector of the university, and Don Andres Roson, the archbishop's secretary, returned my visit. They sat a long time with me, and were very frank in their communications on all the matters in which I felt interested. From them I learned that the schools formerly established and supported by the king of Spain had been abolished, as well as the university, in which there had been taught rhetoric, belles lettres, canon and civil law, medicine, and various other branches of science. But the most oppressive consideration appeared to be the progressive decay of religion. The number of ministers had been so deplorably reduced, that the remnant could not discharge their most urgent duties. The chapter of San Domingo formerly consisted of fourteen canons, two curas, and one sacristân mayor. Of these

four only were now left; and although very zealous, they had not the power of performing their duty adequately. Although the archbishop had refused the stipend offered to him, the dean accepted one hundred dollars, and each of the canons fifty dollars, per month.

It seemed to be the impression of these gentlemen, that the object of the existing government is to keep the people in a state of ignorance and barbarism, in order to facilitate the management of them. How far I may be right in this view of their opinion I cannot pretend to say positively, as they were very guarded in their expressions; but if it should not be their opinion, it is not an unlikely one to be entertained by men living among merely the wrecks of institutions which, from their childhood, they had been in the habit of regarding as sacred.

I mentioned, in my account of the Cape, an attempt made at Sans Souci to form an ecclesiastical seminary for a national clergy. I had heard doubts on the clerical character of the superintendant. I inquired if these doubts had any foundation, and found that his assumption of the priestly character was a gross imposture. He has not the necessary documents to prove his pretensions, neither has he been able to procure them, although he has been long denounced

by his diocesan. This, however, does not appear to be the first instance of an interloper having been protected by the Haitian government. Under that of Petion, it is said that a Frenchman appeared at Port-au-Prince, and assumed the character of a bishop. His imposture was exposed, without any further notice from the president, when pressed for allowing a person, so notoriously destitute of claim to his assumed character, to remain, than that "it was convenient." During the whole of my stay in this city I continued to maintain the most friendly terms with the clergy, for I was daily visited by the two canons, Dr. Manuel Gonzales and Dr. Thomas de Portes, to whom I am indebted for the copy of Valverde's History, which I had sought in vain in every other place. The cura of the cathedral, Padre Soto, and of Santa Barbara, (a small parish within sight of the walls,) Dr. José Ruiz, also called upon me; and I am bound to bear testimony to their kindly dispositions and unobtrusive discharge of their functions.

With General Borgella I also was on a very agreeable footing. I found him a frank, open, manly soldier, without pretension, well versed in the history of his country, as well as in the character of his countrymen, and exceedingly

friendly. He is the son of a French gentleman, who held large possessions in the Cul de Sac, and, as the president of Toussaint's Constituent Assembly, signed the constitution of the colony promulgated by that chief. For his share in this transaction he was sent by Le Clerc to France, where he died in great want, leaving a widow and daughter, who are mainly supported by the general.

Borgella was (in 1827) fifty-three years of age, and had served from the earliest period of the revolution, having held the French commission of lieutenant of gens-d'armes. He afterwards adhered to Rigaud, and would have accompanied him to France on his expulsion by Toussaint, had he not been disgusted almost at the point of embarkation, to which he however attended his fallen chief. He remained, and was exposed to much hardship from Toussaint; but having a powerful friend in his father, his life was saved. When General Boudet's division captured Port-au-Prince, Borgella was on General Agés' staff, the whole of which joined the French. Having saved the lives of upwards of one hundred Frenchmen, who had been ordered to be massacred by Toussaint, he was much sought after and speedily promoted. On the division of the island between Chris-

tophe and Petion, he adhered to the latter, but supported Rigaud on his secession from Port-au-Prince. Subsequently he has uniformly served under the republic, and public opinion has long marked him as the future president of Haiti.

It was important to obtain information from an individual so intelligent as General Borgella, who, having passed through so many tumultuous scenes, had never abandoned the island, even at her last gasp. I found him ready to communicate, and among other acts of civility for which I am indebted to him, he undertook to mark in the margin of "*L'Histoire d'Haiti*" by Placide Justin, the errors—which he did; and, to the credit of the historian, they are not numerous.

He gave a very interesting, and even affecting account of General Beauvais, the first coloured chief, who appears to have been equally esteemed by the whites and by his own caste. He served with great distinction, and commanded at Jacmel at the breaking out of the war between Toussaint and Rigaud; but being unwilling to engage in what he deemed a fratricidal war, he privately withdrew, leaving as his successor the officer next in command. Accompanied by his wife and two daughters, he sailed from Jacmel only to fall into the

hands of a British cruizer. They were taken to one of our islands, and an exchange of the general was shortly negotiated. The party then embarked in a French frigate for France. After being at sea for some time, beyond the reach of any port, the vessel was discovered to be in a sinking state. The boats could remove only a small number of the crew and passengers. It was determined to draw lots. Beauvais, having stipulated for the safety of his two daughters, drew a favourable lot: that of his wife was unfavourable. He insisted on her safety, and perished. His two girls were adopted by a rich old gentleman in France, and have been since very advantageously married.

General Lacroix asserts that Fontaine, Toussaint's aide-de-camp, had been shot by General Le Clerc, for maintaining a treasonable correspondence with his old chief. I was curious to determine this fact, and General Borgella assured me that he had been sent to France, and died, as he believed, at Mantua. He was black, had been well educated in France, and was a very intelligent person. He had been Beauvais' aide-de-camp when he left Jacmel, and subsequently served under the banners of Toussaint.

Borgella does not reverence the memory of

General Agé, whom he describes as a worthless drunkard, distrusted and despised by every person. He was also equally unflattering in his portrait of Lapointe, of whom I took some notice in my account of Cayes. He was a man of talent, but a most unprincipled scoundrel. He murdered nearly one hundred of his own relations and personal friends, whom his guilty conscience led him to suspect might denounce some of his treasons. Among his other qualifications, he possessed in a very superior degree the art of lying; thinking it, I suppose, as too many do, even within the verge of places that must not be named, the perfection of diplomatic address.

I think that it is the opinion of this officer, that there is every reason to expect that the tranquillity of the republic is not likely to be interrupted without much mismanagement, for every one is tired of civil dissention, and wishes to avoid the renewal of horrors, the very recollection of which is heart-rending.

I spent one day with the general at his house at San Carlos, a cool retreat on a rising ground, about a couple of miles from the town, and another at his sugar estate Bassora, on the left bank of the Ozama, about twelve miles distant. On both these occasions there were

various persons present, the commandant General Carrière, Señor Caminero, an eminent lawyer, Lamotte Duthier, the store-keeper, General Riché, the black inspector of fortifications, and various others.

M. Lamotte is a remarkable man: he is a native of Jeremie, and remained there until 1802, when he was saved by the commissary of police from being murdered, and went to America. His account of the atrocities of M. D'Arbeau, who received twenty thousand dollars yearly from the "comité" of public safety to give impunity to their hangings and drownings, was dreadful. Lacroix gives some account of the bloodshed in that quarter. Lamotte made his way to Europe, where he exercised his talents as an artist, which are really very respectable. He practised his art at Lisbon for some time, but at last returned home.

All agreed that the jealousy which prevailed among the castes had been excessive; and knowing this to be the case, Sonthonax attempted to promote it, so as to render each party in turn subservient to his objects. This commissioner, by the reports made of him, must have been totally devoid of principle: one anecdote is so characteristic of his system, that I cannot refrain from giving it.

Among the other worthies that he collected under his standard, there was a negro chief, previously a runaway, of a most hideous countenance and appearance; and he considered his abominable aspect so essential to his authority, that he added to it all that was in his power. Among other expedients, he hung bells to his overgrown beard and whiskers, and painted his body white.

This individual, who was especially protected by the French commissary, encamped near Beauvais at Croix des Bouquets, at the time of the schism between Sonthonax and the coloured chief. Under the pretext of establishing a friendly intercourse, he invited the latter, with his staff, to breakfast with him. The real object was assassination—fortunately it was discovered by the captain of the gens-d'armes, who selected and despatched to the scene of action a confidential serjeant named Phillipeau, and fifteen chosen men, (having also secured all the outlets, and stationed a strong party of soldiers in ambush.) Phillipeau arrived just as the general and his party, unsuspecting of treachery, had deposited their arms in an outer room, and had gone into the breakfast apartment, where it had been arranged that each of the devoted guests was to be placed by the side

of his intended assassin. Phillipeau suddenly presented himself, and calling out Beauvais, hastily stated the circumstances. The individuals thus summoned resumed their arms. The gens-d'armes pressed forward and poured in a volley on the conspirators, which destroyed the whole of them. The coloured chief was thus saved.

It is quite certain that Sonthonax calculated much on the prejudices of castes, which formerly prevailed so extensively, and which there is too much reason for believing exist with a degree of force which must render the management of the republic a difficult business.

During my stay in this city, I was fortunate enough to make a very general acquaintance with the leading people of all the castes and conditions; and as they treated me with equal frankness, I had probably the best opportunity yet afforded me of determining the character and dispositions of all. Of these I shall hereafter speak; but it is due to those from whom I derived so much useful information, for me here to express my sense of gratitude.

Santo Domingo is the earliest European establishment now existing in the New World, and ought to have been the metropolis of the west. It was founded in 1494 by Bartolomeo Colum-

bus on the left bank of the Ozama, and bore the name of "La Nueva Isabella," which was afterwards changed to its present designation, it is said, in honour of Columbus' father, whose name was Domingo. On the same side of the river, Diego, the son of the great navigator, built a large stone house, with defences against the Indians, the remains of which still exist.

A hurricane in 1502 destroyed the first city, and the present one was founded on the opposite bank of the Ozama, and is described to have in a very short time attained a degree of grandeur not unworthy of its metropolitan rank. It is built on a small platform that commands the harbour. Its form is trapezoidal, extending along the Ozama about nine hundred yards, and along the sea about eight hundred, having a circuit of about three thousand yards. The whole is surrounded with a rampart, which varies in thickness from eight to twelve feet. There are also around it traces of a ditch. The bastions are small, and two half-moon batteries protect the two extremes, and some irregular works defend the city towards the sea. A small height to the north-west commands the rampart in that direction. When I was there, the repair of the fortifications was going on as fast as small means would allow.

The interior of the city is regularly laid out in streets, that intersect each other nearly at right angles. The houses are in the Spanish style ; the larger ones forming a square, with an inner quadrangle ; those of an inferior kind such as are seen in the smaller towns in Spain, with massy doors and barred windows. The older buildings are generally of a limestone of the country ; those of more recent date, of an earthy matter called " *tapia*." Pillars of masonry are run up, a frame of wood-work connecting them, and the intervals are filled up with this " *tapia*," which is beaten down, and on setting, as I believe it is technically phrased, it acquires a hardness equal to that of stonework, with the advantage of being one continuous wall. The larger houses are very good ; but the appearance of the whole is deformed by small thatched buildings, even in the principal streets.

The streets are not all paved, but they are wide and spacious. The climate is agreeable, and what is invaluable, there is a never-failing sea-breeze, which, however, is obstructed by the rampart to the east : indeed, I may say it is entirely excluded from the lower parts of the houses.

But notwithstanding these advantages, the

unbounded praises lavished on it in some of the earlier reports to the Emperor Charles V., cannot now be bestowed ; and from the remains of its former condition, which is exemplified in the public buildings, I may be pardoned for suspecting that the facility afforded by the Spanish language to exaggerated description, may have contributed to the glowing pictures that have been handed down, chiefly by Oviedo.

Of these monuments of former splendour the cathedral remains, having been founded in 1514, and finished in 1540. The architecture is Gothic, and it contains a nave and two aisles. The roof is so substantial as to have resisted earthquakes and even shells, one of which thrown during the last siege by the British, is firmly fixed in it. In this building the cross which I mentioned in speaking of the Santo Cerro, is preserved as a precious relic, enchased in filigreed silver, and there is a particular service in its honour, which one of the canons, Dr. Portez, was so obliging as to perform when he exhibited the holy relic. Formerly the bones of Columbus, and the irons in which he had been sent to Spain a prisoner, were lodged in the wall ; but on the treaty of Basle the only mortal remains that could be found were transported to the city of Havana, in the cathe-

dral of which they now repose. It may, however, be seriously doubted whether these bones are Columbus', or those of his son or brother. Moreau St. Mery made some diligent inquiries which lead to the doubt; yet if the maxim "*crede quod habes et habes*" be correct, it would be a pity to disturb the popular belief.

The monasteries of Mercy and of St. Francis, and the Jesuits' college, are no longer devoted to religious purposes. A decree of the government, 8th of July, 1824, abolished all monastic orders; and there is not, I believe, a single monk or friar in the city. The college of the Jesuits, which is now the military store-house, is remarkably fine. Its cupola and chief altar are carved out of the most beautiful mahogany.

Two convents for nuns, one dedicated to "*Regina Angelorum*," and the other to "*Santa Clara*," still subsist, but are deprived, by the decree just cited, of all their revenues, and no fresh inmates are permitted to be received. There were (in 1827) six or seven old nuns still living in them, receiving an allowance from the public treasury.

The Dominican convent was devoted to the uses of the University until that establishment sunk. It is said that divine service is still performed in nine churches, besides the cathedral:

it may be so ; but it would be difficult to point out the officiating priests.

To the honour of the Spaniards, notwithstanding all that has been said, and may, I fear, be truly said, of their misdeeds in the western world, they generally established on their settlements hospitals for the sick and destitute. Two hospitals erected by them in Santo Domingo attest this assertion, and it is creditable to the existing government that they are carefully kept up.

The caserns, or barracks, are large and commodious ; the arsenal extensive. The lighthouse and prison are conveniently placed, both under the refreshing influence of the sea-breeze.

The national palace is by no means a splendid one. A new building, instead of it, was in progress during my visit.

There are few monuments of the fine arts ; the only one I saw was a painting of the Crucifixion in the office of the commandant of the city, into which is introduced, among other suppliants at the foot of the cross, a Haitian soldier in full uniform. The question naturally arose, as in the case of the fly in amber, “ How the devil did he get there ? ”

A newspaper had been lately discontinued

for want of encouragement, but there was still a printing-press.

The harbour, formed by the termination of the river Ozama, is excellent, being in fact a natural basin, capable of containing a large number of vessels, and of protecting them from every tempest. The bar at the entrance is, however, a formidable drawback; for although earlier writers say that vessels of four hundred tons could pass it, now it is found that there is no greater draught of water than ten or twelve feet. The consequence is, that ships of any burthen are obliged to anchor at the entrance in the roads, which are exceedingly exposed. There is a convenient fountain for watering shipping, said to have been built by Diego Columbus. The Ozama is navigable for considerable-sized craft for nine or ten leagues from the port, a circumstance that may be turned to good account if the population on its banks should increase.

Considerable trade is carried on in the articles of consumption of the country; but as the chief exports are mahogany, *lignum-vitæ*, and other woods, the outward-bound vessels generally load at the point of the coast most convenient for the embarkation of their cargoes. There is more appearance of internal traffic here than in most towns in Haiti.

The population is very mixed, consisting of all the classes and castes that are to be seen in the other parts of the island. The number of foreigners is considerably smaller, however, than at Port-au-Prince, Cayes, or the Cape; while the proportion of native whites and coloured people considerably exceeds that of the blacks. There did not appear to me to exist to the same extent as elsewhere, the prejudices which form so inveterate an obstacle to the consolidation of the Haitians as a nation having only one common feeling. I chiefly remarked that there was a considerable dislike between the resident priesthood and the soldiery from the west; the one party regarding the other as a band of men without religion or principle, while they were deemed a set of fanatic bigots. All outward show of rancour has been subdued by General Borgella's adroit management of very discordant materials.

To the north and west the country is open and very agreeable. Between these two points stands the suburb of San Carlos, at the verge of which is the country retreat, already mentioned, belonging to General Borgella. San Carlos was founded by a colony from the Canary Islands, commonly called "Canarios," or Isleños. It is said to have been formerly hand-

some; but Dessalines, when he besieged the city, destroyed all but the church, which still remains, and is a handsome stone edifice. The walks are pleasant, and on hot days are crowded by gay parties, displaying the mantilla, fan, and elastic step that so fascinate all admirers of grace and elegance. The veil may not, however, be so frequently removed as it might be, where brilliancy of complexion is more prevalent.

Along the sea-shore there are some pleasant cottages surrounded by gardens. I was at two of them, and enjoyed the fresh breeze exceedingly. One belonged to the only English resident, Mr. Lawrence, and the other to Señor Caminero; and I heard (too late to visit it) that an industrious North American has established in the same neighbourhood a sort of Vauxhall, to which crowds of people resort, much to the replenishment of his purse.

In and about this part of Haiti, I apprehend that though agriculture may have improved of late, it is still very far behind what it ought to be. Guinea grass, so necessary for forage, has been introduced, and it is extending. Some cacao, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and sugar, are produced, for they may be bought; but I did not see the plantations on which they grow, with the exception of Bassora already named,

on which there is a good mill, all the requisite machinery, and a hundred men constantly employed ; but the superintendant was captain of the rural police—a fact which tended much to maintain discipline. Though rather out of place, I must record a fact that occurred during my visit to this estate :—one of the party, a general officer, was missing, and on looking for him, he was found sleeping among the servants ; and such was the irksomeness to him of remaining with us, that immediately after breakfast he again retired to his associates among the guides and grooms, with whom he discussed cigars until we moved off for the city. I mention this as illustrative of the progress of society.

On Bassora very good sugar is made ; but there is a want of a steady home market, syrup being so much more generally used by the natives.

I believe the principal supply of all the minor articles brought to the market is derived from both the banks of the Ozama, as well as of the Isabella, where, in the recesses of the forest, cultivation is said to be gradually advancing.

At the distance of a few leagues from the city is situated San Cristoval, in the midst of the flourishing district of “ Los Ingenios.”

General Borgella has attended with a fostering care to this, and the efforts of the inhabitants are reported to have so well corresponded with his views, that the most sanguine expectations of improvement there are confidently entertained. It is in this district that fortifications have been established, to serve as a depôt in case of foreign invasion. The selection of the position is described to be peculiarly good, in an almost inaccessible point, commanding a wide extent of country, abundantly supplied with water, flowing through a rich virgin soil, that reaches close to the walls of the fortress.

About forty leagues from the city is the town of Higüey, celebrated for its virgin, to whose shrine devotees even from the most remote corners of the island resort, either to expiate crime or to invoke blessings. I knew an instance of a female, who had a deaf and dumb child, travelling from Port-au-Prince to Higüey in the vain hope of cure. The reputation of the saint, though not equal to her of Loretto, is a very abundant source of revenue to the superintending priest. The offerings of the pious, who beg, borrow, or steal, to pay him, render him the richest clergyman in Haiti.

The representation of the saint, as described

to me, is an oil-painting about a foot in length ; the frame is solid gold, or seems to be so, set with precious stones, so as to correspond in all respects with a crown of similar materials. The neighbouring soil is described as exceedingly productive, scarcely requiring cultivation.

There, however, as well as elsewhere, regular labour is procured with difficulty, if procured at all. An old settler told me of a very whimsical expedient, to which he was led to recur by his knowledge of the people : at the revolution in 1822, all his slaves became inoculated, like Cornet Ollapod, with a military ardour, and left him for all the delights of a Haitian guard-room. It was necessary for the support of his family that his estate should not lie fallow—but how could he procure labourers ?—Why, he became the godfather to every fine stout boy in his neighbourhood. Now the authority of a godfather is unbounded throughout Haiti : he may actually take liberties that a father could not. All the godsons of my acquaintance are employed as labourers, and, if idle, they are thrashed without any dread of the “code civil ;” and as he always takes care to have relays in store, as fast as vacancies are produced by attaining the age of twenty-one years, they are filled up by

the new made Christians. In this way he keeps up an efficient set of about twenty stout lads: few, however, have the same resource at command. Nor is it all surprising such should be the case under the new regime, since we find that, even so long ago as in the year 1785, with the slave system in full force, there was a deplorable deficiency of labour, so much so that the proprietors, according to the native historian Valverde, were too poor to employ managers or overseers, but were obliged to superintend in person the operations of their labourers. Nor does there appear to have been any want of industry; but the lack of means of increasing labour kept them in continued depression. It is not a little remarkable that many of the same individuals who in the rich soil of San Domingo remained poor, on removal either to Puerto Rico or Cuba made large fortunes. To trace all the causes producing so singular an anomaly would require more intimate knowledge of facts than any stranger can acquire in a short residence. I shall however point, before I end, at some of them. A class of small proprietors of farms called "Estancias," with two or three negroes, appear to have flourished in San Domingo as well as in Cuba, where they form that very efficient

body of men called "Monteros." They labour with their slaves, and fare nearly as they do. Since I have had any knowledge of the fact, that Europeans may thrive within the tropics as these individuals do, the speculation, first, I believe, recommended by the late indefatigable Dr. Colquhoun, of encouraging in the high lands of our colonies small white proprietors, has been one of my favourite schemes; nor do I think it would be difficult to show that the adoption of such a measure would add to their security, no less than increase their value to the parent state. Many of the Spanish Haitians still hold "Estancias."

Cattle-breeding was always an object of importance, at least since 1535, at which period horned cattle had multiplied to an enormous extent; but independent of these, horses, sheep, goats, asses, and hogs also abound.

The grazing establishment is called "hatto," on which the arrangements (which were very extensive) were made with great precision. The animals were classed according to their habits. The father of the family generally directed the whole, while his sons undertook the executive part of the duty. Their life was one of continued hardship and exposure; yet I question whether there is one who would wil-

lingly exchange it for any other. I shall not readily forget the delight with which one of these hardy fellows detailed to me the number of nights he was in the habit of spending among the mountains, carrying in a srip a small allowance of food, sleeping under a tree, with his back propped by it, and exposed to incessant wet in the marshy plashy grounds ; and, when awake, depending for his safe return home on his intimate knowledge of the country. The gratification which he experienced most probably arose from the same circumstance that animated the French renegado, mentioned by Chateaubriand, when galloping at the utmost stretch across the Great Desart—the sense of uncontrolled freedom.

There has been a variety of causes assigned for the depopulated and uncultivated condition in which this most glorious island has been almost from its earliest history, while the adjacent islands were rising into opulence and importance. At the first view it certainly appears to be utterly incomprehensible, for it could not depend on the indolence of Spaniards, since in Puerto Rico and Cuba the self-same Spaniards, as has been already stated, were industrious and flourishing ; neither could it be ascribed to any sterility of the soil, since this

is unquestionably not the least luxuriant in the world, and decided evidence was given of the fact by the success of the French in the west. This much is certain, that after San Domingo had been three centuries in the hands of Spain, she was worth nothing as a colony. Valverde, who sometimes aims at being poetical, observes that the riches and splendour of Hispaniola resembled those flowers that scarcely allow time to admire their beautiful tints, and to inhale their fragrance, before they expire.

It would seem that the first blow given to the prosperity of the colony was the infamous recal of Columbus, which afforded an opportunity to the unprincipled Bobadilla and Ovando, contrary to the wishes of their sovereigns, to distribute the unhappy Indians among the land and mine-holders. Goaded by ill usage, many of these wretched people escaped to the continent ; others died of small-pox ; while the sudden change of life from one of unrestrained freedom to that of incessant labour, destroyed a very large number. On the loss of labourers the produce both of the soil and the mines also ceased, as an inevitable consequence.

Next followed the intestine divisions, which, in spite of the prohibition by the court of Spain of emigration, forced the most opulent proprie-

tors to seek an asylum in other countries. Yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, the colony struggled through the sixteenth century by the labour afforded by negroes; and cultivation prospered to a small extent, while the herds rapidly augmented. All trade with the Peninsula, and even with Mexico, having ceased, the colony might have been totally lost to Europe, had not the Dutch and other foreigners maintained an illicit intercourse with it. The only act of interference of Spain, and it was one of consistent imprudence, was to destroy this resource in 1606, under the pretext of putting an end to smuggling, by abandoning the ports of the north, the inhabitants of which were forced into the interior. If the court of Madrid had desired to make an experiment on the possibility of barbarizing a community in the midst of increasing civilization, a better mode could possibly not have been devised. Jobbing, however, was, I believe, the real cause of the atrocious deed. Disease in different forms, each equally fatal, earthquakes and foreign invasion, contributed in turn to destroy and to dishearten such of the inhabitants as survived. A modern author sums up the state of abandonment at the end of the seventeenth century, by saying, "Thus the island, the

metropolis of the fourth part of the world, only retained the inhabitants who were bound by extreme necessity ; the houses decayed from a want of occupants ; the lands abandoned often remained without an owner ; and the landmarks having ceased to exist, no man could distinguish his property from that of another. The public revenue was almost nothing, and the only returns to the public chest arose from a few quires of stamps and a few papal bulls. To defray the charges of the government, it was necessary to send large sums from Mexico. In a word, so wretched was the poverty, that the greatest festival in Santo Domingo was on the arrival of money to pay the administration. Its entry within the gates was announced by the ringing of bells, by rejoicing, and cries of joy.”*

To remedy the want of population, the government sent out some families from the Canaries, many of whom, from injudicious treatment, died ; yet the colony began to revive as its French neighbour advanced in prosperity. Smuggling was rendered more easy, and the demand for cattle considerably augmented.

* Description de l'Isle de S. Domingue—Partie Espagnole, par Moreau St. Mery, p. 40, vol. 1.

CHAPTER XI.

Effects of revolution in the West or the East—Emigration—
Check to decay—Depreciation of the value of property—Account of the revolution in 1821 and 1822—Nuñez—Colonel Aly and his black corps—Spanish governor—Pascual Real arrested and deposed—Counter-revolution—Causes—Occupation by President Boyer and republican army—Guarantees given—Tumults suppressed—Trade not very active—Retention of Spanish customs — Mantilla —Guitars—Artisans — Public amusements—Preparations for departure.

SUCH was the state of St. Domingo during the greater part of the eighteenth century. New dangers arose at the commencement of the revolutionary movements in the French colony; and the Spaniards are accused of having secretly encouraged them, even before the war had commenced in Europe between the two parent states. This much is certain, that, as soon as the war had commenced, the Spaniards supplied the revolted slaves with arms, admitted them

into their territory, and gave rank to their chiefs. Toussaint held that of a colonel in the Spanish army; and it is asserted by French writers that "Jean François," one of the first insurgent black leaders, was elevated to the rank of a grandee of Spain. This assertion is as boldly denied by respectable Spaniards, though with what truth I cannot presume to determine. I believe that Jean François died not many years ago in Madrid, in the receipt of a pension from the government.

The necessary alarm, from the proximity of revolutionary materials, must have, without question, operated very powerfully in driving away those whose prosperity enabled them to remove with their families: probably these were accompanied by all their dependants, who gladly followed their fortunes to the neighbouring and more peaceful islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba. Since 1795 there can have been no assured security, which must have eminently contributed to the downfall of the colony—a downfall which had been progressively going on in regular progression, until it has been finally brought to its lowest point.

The further decline is universally allowed by the inhabitants to have been retarded by the conciliatory yet firm conduct of General

Borgella. Under his administration the overwhelming progress of decay has been counteracted, and eventually the current may be directed into a better channel; but still the want of population and capital are evils that can only be thoroughly remedied by time, aided by the judicious encouragement of foreigners. I may mention, in proof of the depreciation of property owing to the want of funds, and the desire of many of the Spaniards to realize and withdraw their property from an obnoxious government, that the house in which I lodged, which was formerly worth six or eight thousand dollars, was offered for sale at one thousand; and the best estate (sugar) in the neighbourhood, which was valued at eighty thousand dollars, was sold for fifteen thousand, *to be paid out of the crops*. The inducement in this case was confidence in the personal honour of the purchaser, or it would have been sold for a smaller sum in cash.

As I collected some interesting particulars of the revolution, I cannot, I think, do better than give a short account of it in this place, while treating of the scene of action.

It is well known that, by the ninth article of the treaty of Basle concluded the 22nd of July, 1795, between France and Spain, the

eastern part of St. Domingo was added to the former power, in consideration of giving up all her conquests in the Pyrenees. There appears to have been some subsequent understanding between the parent states, for no orders appear to have been ever given to the republican chiefs in the island to occupy it; indeed, positive instructions not to do so are said by Lacroix to have been sent to Toussaint L'Ouverture, who, suspecting their import, pressed on in advance of the officer conveying the despatches, and had taken military possession of the city itself before they reached him. He thus attained his object without appearing to do so, in opposition to higher powers.

After Le Clerc arrived, the city, in common with the whole island, fell into his hands, and remained so until 1801, when the small French force then occupying it capitulated to the late General Carmichael, who, I presume, from directions from home, delivered possession to the Spanish authorities, at the head of whom was Don Juan Sanchez: thus the cession made in 1795 was actually voided by conquest; and to confirm the right of possession, it was stipulated by the eighth article of the treaty of Paris, concluded 30th of May, 1814, that

“ His most Christian Majesty* restores in full right and sovereignty to His Catholic Majesty, the portion of St. Domingo ceded to France by the treaty of Basle.” Thus from that period the point of lawful possession was fixed and acted upon by the contracting parties.

The decrepitude of the Spanish government was never more strongly exemplified than in its conduct to this its most ancient western possession. On every occasion there was displayed the most marked inability to afford the least protection, beyond supplying it with a very ample number of public functionaries. All this afforded a strong argument to revolutionary minds to propose a change, while all the sins of preceding governments furnished never-failing topics of declamation. It is not, under such circumstances, a matter of surprise that turbulent spirits should be called into activity while revolution was raging in every direction; and even in this obscure nook there were materials to act and to be acted upon.

There was, in 1821, resident in the city, and holding the rank of “auditor de guerra,” a lawyer named José Nuñez de Caçeres, (after-

* See Appendix, note (I.)

wards the friend, secretary-general, and confidential adviser of Paez in Colombia,) who had failed, through the intrigues of his enemies in Spain, to obtain the rank of one of the judges of the "Audiencia Real;" and consequently became an inveterate patriot and avenger of his country's wrongs. At this time the troops scarcely amounted to one hundred and fifty Europeans, who, it is said, had been all corrupted—and a black regiment commanded by Colonel Aly, which had accompanied Toussaint at the time of his conquest, and had subsequently entered the Spanish service. Yet, with singular improvidence and disregard of the dangerous neighbourhood of Port-au-Prince, the officers were only allowed to hold rank in their own corps, being, as I understood, without the power of command over any other; in fact, having purely regimental, not army rank. Although this body always conducted themselves well, it is not to be supposed that they would particularly object to any change that would place them in a better relative situation to their fellow-soldiers. Of the knowledge of these facts Núñez made ample use: he leagued himself with seven others to throw off allegiance to Spain; and they made their arrangements so well, that on the night of the 30th of No-

vember, 1821, they arrested the governor-brigadier Don Pascual Real in bed without opposition, hoisted Colombian colours, and were in possession of all the fortifications as soon as the dawn broke on the morning of the 1st of December. They also issued a Declaration of Independence,* signed by the whole party, *which, too, had been previously printed at the government printing-office*. I was informed by an eye-witness that the revolution was effected without the slightest tumult; and the only perceptible change to the inhabitants was the substitution of the Colombian for the Spanish flag; so thoroughly was the real power of the mother-country destroyed, even in this her most feeble dependency.

All the usual transatlantic themes of a vassalage of three centuries, oppression, neglect, &c. were duly enunciated by the revolutionary party as the reasons of their proceeding. The chiefs then formed a provisional government, at the head of which Nuñez was placed as president. One of his coadjutors became captain-general and commander-in-chief of their Lilliputian army, and the remainder elected themselves deputies of the north, east, and south.

* See Appendix, note (J.)

There being no candidate, the west was left unprovided with a representative.

According to the established formula in such cases, an "*acta constitutiva*"* was ushered into the world by this small band of political obstetricians. Commodore Aury, with several armed vessels, hovered about the coast, I presume to see that the patriots fulfilled their duty to Colombia; and Baron Jacob paused at Samana, to see whether any thing favourable to France offered.

Although the scheme went on with so much apparent smoothness, there was considerable dissatisfaction among no small portion of the population. The proscription in Colombia of European Spaniards naturally alarmed such of that class as held property in Haiti; and as soon as they were certified of the proceedings of Aury and Nuñez—forgetful of the frightful clause of the Constitution of 1806, which prohibits all white men from being proprietors in the republic, they began to intrigue in its favour, considering its rule, as many have frankly avowed, the least of two grievous evils. It is rumoured that for a long time prior to this the Haitian government had active agents feeling

* See Appendix, note (K.)

the pulse of the people. If so, it is not to be supposed that the events just narrated were likely to lull them into repose. Be that as it may, scarcely had the self-formed government commenced their legislative functions, when emissaries were despatched by the inhabitants of the principal towns in the east, both to Cape Haitian and Port-au-Prince, to urge the union of the whole island under one head. Before their arrival, or that of the news of the revolution, President Boyer had despatched three officers to compliment General Real; but on reaching their destination the change had occurred. Nuñez had taken care to announce to his brother president, whose reply detailed the invitations received,* his acceptance of them, and his intention of marching with an overwhelming force. He also guaranteed the safety of persons and property, and stated the grounds of taking military possession to rest on the fortieth and forty-first articles† of the Constitution of 1806, which declare the republic to be one and indivisible. How far the right of the framers of that Constitution extended to consider as an integral part of Haitian territory that which they did not occupy, may be safely

* See Appendix, note (L.)

† See Appendix, note (M.)

referred to the common sense of mankind at large, without calling in the aid of Vattel, Puffendorf, Bynkershoeck, or any other writer on public law.

President Boyer further recommended a pacific course to Nuñez, which was adopted.* In the interval the deputation returned from Santo Domingo to Port-au-Prince, with a proposal for an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two republics; which being rejected, citizen Nuñez, political chief as he was designated, proposed to surrender his usurped authority.

On the 21st of January, 1822, the Haitian flag was first displayed in the city of Santo Domingo, and on the 9th of the next month the municipality, at the head of whom appeared the ex-president, met the President Boyer beyond the walls, and offered to surrender to him the keys of the city, which were, however, refused by him, for he came not as a conqueror, but as the father of his people.

A proclamation of infinite promise was then put forth, and was confirmed by a subsequent one from Port-au-Prince, dated 22d of June, 1822: but pledges were deemed by the new republicans insufficient, as they saw their an-

* See Note (N.) Appendix.

cient laws suddenly changed to the Haitian code, the practical inconvenience of which, chiefly with regard to landed property, was extensively felt, and the whites began to appreciate the insecurity of their tenure under the constitution. Numerous applications were therefore made to the government, to adopt some fixed mode of remedying these inconveniences. The matter was referred to a committee of both branches of the legislature. This committee reported on all the points referred to them, and practical inferences were deduced. The documents are too long and uninteresting to be here detailed ;* but the united legislature sanctioned the report. A commission, to carry into effect the law thus passed, was appointed to reside at Santo Domingo ; but they have not given satisfaction, and the complaints of violated faith are loud and frequent. However, the report which was adopted may be deemed the bill of rights of the white Eastern population, as by it, *quoad* them, the right of holding property, in opposition to the mischievous clause of the constitution already cited, is preserved.

Such were the consequences of the revolution when I witnessed them ; and I am disposed to infer, from what I heard at different periods,

* See Note (O.) Appendix.

that the parties referred to attempted in vain to find any trace of compensation for the sacrifice of all their ancient predilections, and even prejudices. They consider their clergy degraded and injured, by being almost reduced to a state of dependence on the already stinted means of their flocks, their religion consequently insulted, for they have no confidence in French or Port-au-Prince Christianity. Their university no longer exists; the public schools are destroyed; and they insist that it is a mockery to talk of national schools, the teachers of which are utterly incompetent; but the greatest grievance (and it is a terrible one) is that, at the very age when their sons require the utmost care of a parent, they are bound by the existing law to become soldiers, and to be initiated into all the profligacy of a guard-house, as privates; from which scene of degradation no merit can raise them, while the son of the most worthless chief in the West is at once raised to the rank of an officer. They complain too, that their morals being thus corrupted, there is little chance of the unfortunate individuals ever resuming respectable or decent habits. All these points have been most strongly and feelingly pressed on me by sufferers, in nearly the language used.

Besides these grievances, there has been no compensation for the slaves liberated at the revolution, many of whom having become soldiers, have left the proprietors without labourers, thus depriving their late masters of their only means of support. The French language too is substituted for Spanish, an insult fully appreciated; and in return for this beautiful independence,* it is found not to be recognized by either France or Spain; yet the present government expects the disfranchised Spaniard to contribute his proportion to the liquidation of the French indemnity.

The reduction of the value of property affords also, where grumbling is permitted, a tolerable good reason for venting occasional complaints. With the effects of these facts I have nothing to do, my present business being merely to record my observations.

Some time before my arrival in the island, feelings of discontent had displayed themselves so unequivocally that prosecutions were instituted, some individuals shot, and others banished. That these angry feelings have been subdued, and peace maintained, may, I believe, be attributed to General Borgella's administra-

* See Note (P.)—Copy of Ordonnance, April 17, 1823.

tion, which, though not without its defects, is, upon the whole, mild and conciliatory, though firm and vigilant.

This state of things, of which the preceding pages contain a short sketch, does not warrant any expectations of extensive commerce in Santo Domingo. Accordingly we find that it is conducted on a very restricted scale. The population being small, consumption is limited. The produce of the soil (that is the cultivated produce) is confined to domestic wants; and although there is actually enough mahogany and dye-woods to supply the whole of Europe, there is nobody to fell, to prepare, or to ship so large a quantity as the earth spontaneously yields.

I have already expressed my sense of obligation to all classes with whom I had any intercourse. Of their modes of general intercourse with each other I had no means of judging accurately; but from all I could gather, it is much the same as in the mother country, the habits of which seem to have invariably rooted themselves wherever the Spaniards have had an ascendancy. I remember being struck with seeing in Holland the mantilla of cloth worn by the women, nearly three hundred years after the Spanish yoke had been thrown off, under

circumstances that might have induced the most unqualified dismissal of even the most agreeable customs of the oppressor.

The tinkling of the guitar in the streets in the evening is associated with so many pleasing recollections to most peninsular travellers, that even in hands not moulded to elicit eloquent music, it excites sensations nearly allied to those of the Highlander at the animating sound of the pibroch. All is, I apprehend, dependent on associations with either some pleasing reality, or with some equally pleasing fantasy, that has influenced the feelings "in earlier days and happier hours." Nearly every evening these sounds continued until the usual hour of repose, ten o'clock; and I confess they were agreeable to me.

Artizans of all descriptions in articles of common demand are to be found in the city; but they are most celebrated for their work in tortoise-shell, in silver, *when it is to be procured*, and in hats made of the palm-leaf. The tortoise-shell combs are handsome and substantial; and canes are covered with the same material, so as to form a very tasteful walking-stick. The hats too are light and pleasant, though much inferior to those of Panama and Chili.

Of public amusements there was a lamentable dearth. I could hear of no bull-fights, no theatre, and only one exhibition of feats on the slack-rope by a Spaniard, who performed several times during my stay. Some of my party went and reported not unfavourably of the exhibition ; but as it took place at a time when I began to feel the effects of exertion and exposure, I was not disposed to attend. I have forgotten the particulars ; but as well as I recollect, the usual frolics were stated to have been performed much to the satisfaction of the audience and to the peril of the vaulter's neck.

Some little time before a company of Spanish comedians, who had been making the grand tour of the republic, had been attracting overflowing houses. I should have liked much to have seen a classical Spanish tragedy, with all its declamation, enacted before such an audience as might be expected at Santo Domingo. I believe that formerly exhibitions of the drama were not unfrequent. This is very consonant with the Spanish taste ; at Havana there is a very pretty little opera-house, with an excellent orchestra of motley musicians. Indeed, I believe that such an establishment uniformly accompanied that of every principal town in all the Spanish Americas.

As I had completed my budget of information, and there was every reason to dread the approaching rains, it became necessary to prepare for departure; and after having devoted two or three days to the duties of civility, we prepared to find our way once more to the capital.

CHAPTER XII.

River Jaina—Ferry-boat—River Nisao—Mahogany cutters—
 Mode of preparing logs—Dinner with dealers—Road to Bani
 —Arrival—Want of accommodation—Food and forage—
 Savanna Buey—Re-appearance of lost cook—Want of forage
 —Continued rain—Active young negro—Wants supplied—
 Bay of Ocoa—Caracoles—Owner—Family—Accommoda-
 tion—Arrival at Azua—Reception by Colonel Bellegarde—
 His history—Difficulty in obtaining forage, owing to appre-
 hension of the soldiers—Loss of horses—Don Pablo Baez
 —Entertainment—Departure—Guide—Skirting the banks of
 the Neybe—Accident from drunkenness of black officer—
 Arroyo Salado—Picturesque scene—Wild guinea-fowl—
 Novel lights—Sickness of one of the party—Little Yaqui—
 Passage of the ford—Nicaragua—Hostess—Odd notions—
 Expectation of invasion—Crossing of the Mijo—Arrival at
 San Juan—Town-adjutant—History of town—Rock-salt of
 Neybe—Valley of San Juan—Straying of horse—Night
 travelling bad—Arrival at Lamatte—Colonel Gardel—Com-
 mandant Lassala—Chief of police at Rancho Matéo—Depar-
 ture—Rancho Matéo—Disappointments—Miserable night—
 Passage of the river Juan de Vera—Journey to Las Caobas.

ON the 24th of May, at dawn of day, we left the city of Santo Domingo, accompanied by General Borgella, and Colonels Chardavoine and Philipo. Issuing from the gate that leads to San Carlos, we kept by the road that runs along the shore, on which, I was told, General

Carmichael landed in 1808. We passed the small residences of some inhabitants of the city, already mentioned, and Fort St. Jeronimo, which is a solid redoubt of masonry, capable of containing one hundred and fifty men with the necessary provisions. Nearly opposite is a small chapel, always open for the use of the faithful. Cultivation is more exposed along the road-side than it generally is. On reaching the small village called Jaina, on the banks of a river of the same name, we found breakfast prepared for us, by an express that had been sent on by the general; and after partaking of it under a shady tree, we crossed the river in a ferry-boat, which swings by a cable strained across. The river is deep and rapid, and from its proximity to the sea, sharks of an immense size gambol about without restraint; I did not see any of them, but some of the party saw several of a monstrous size. They are probably allured by occasional supplies of dead animals that find their way down the river.

Having parted with our friend the general, which I certainly did with regret, as he had gained upon me by his frank manliness of character, we pursued our way along the sea-shore over an irregular surface, until we reached the banks of the Nisao, a wide, though at that

time a fordable river ; on the banks of which there was a large accumulation of mahogany, that had been floated down from the upper country, in order that it might be prepared for shipment on board of some of the vessels then awaiting their cargoes ; and as the coast is very insecure, it was a matter of great moment to complete the work with the least possible loss of time.

The right bank of the river is the principal scene of operations. Foreigners and natives were all collected together, some preparing the logs, others marking them, and others placing them in such a situation as might be most favourable for subsequent conveyance to the vessels. The process of preparation is very simple :—the trunk of the tree is squared with an adze, the workmen using no measure but his eye to determine its accuracy ; and it is truly surprising to see the rapidity and precision with which, in this rude way, the log is fashioned into the form in which it appears in this country. Some of the logs were remarkably large ; and I learned that the wood from this district is peculiarly prized for its beauty and solidity. Liverpool appears to be the market to which the largest exports are made from this coast.

Among the persons busily engaged on the Nisao, I found Señor Caminero, who had engaged to meet me there. Under his escort we proceeded to a house kept by a Frenchwoman, for the accommodation of the mahogany dealers. The note of the name both of the place and hostess I have mislaid, which I regret, as I should have been glad to have associated with both the comfort I enjoyed at finding a place where grass and forage were abundant, and where there was no lack of entertainment for man. The party was large, consisting of French captains, mahogany brokers, Spanish residents, our hosts, and our own party. Our fare was abundant and good, and it was with no small degree of reluctance that I determined on pursuing our way four leagues further to Bani. The first portion of the road was good, but a heavy storm came on, and we were soon lost in utter darkness: groping our way, we travelled a distance that seemed interminable, along the course of the river Bani, and at last arrived at the town. The rain still pouring with unceasing fury, we made our way to the commandant, Colonel Machado, who had been directed the preceding day by General Borgella to make some preparation in the way of lodging, food, and forage. No-

thing, however, was ready, except a miserable house, which, from having been uninhabited, smelt most foully of damp and rottenness. Although every effort was made, not a mouthful could be obtained for any of the party, either bipeds or quadrupeds; and the latter were obliged to stand out in the storm, there being no shelter to be procured. It was perhaps lucky that my cook did not appear, as there was nothing on which he could have displayed his talents. On the following morning Colonel Machado endeavoured to atone for the privations of the preceding night, by giving us an ample breakfast; but nothing could be procured for the cattle; the whole day was nearly spent in ineffectual efforts to get even a little grass. The day continued wet and comfortless, and the only remarkable occurrence was the instalment of some officers of a masonic lodge, which was conducted, I believe, with the requisite formalities, for I saw a sentry at the door of the lodge, and the procession march with intense solemnity through the muddy streets.

The town is small and paltry, though in the midst of a beautiful uncultivated district. Formerly there were extensive sugar estates, particularly some said to have belonged to the

dukes of Veragua, but they have been long in a state of absolute abandonment—the mere traces of the walls are all that now remain to attest their former size.

As there was no chance of relief for my suffering animals, and I was told that, at about four leagues further on the road to Azua, I should find every thing that could be required at a small farm called Savanna Buey, belonging to Señor Caminero's father-in-law, I sent off the baggage, with a messenger from the owner directing provision to be made. Some of the party remained with me to wait for our lost cook, who appeared about four o'clock, very drunk, with a strange story of having missed his way, and having reached San Cristoval. I believe that he had remained with some of his pot-companions in the city.

Colonel Machado furnished me as a guide one of the best built negro men I ever saw. He had been a slave, was now a small proprietor, and a serjeant of the mounted militia. He was exceedingly well behaved and attentive. Under his escort we proceeded on the road to Savanna Buey, but darkness and rain overtook us before reaching it; and on reaching it, dire was the consternation when it was found that the promised abundance had

dwindled actually to nothing. Nor could either entreaty or offers of money induce the sluggard inhabitants of the cottage to make the smallest effort to relieve the urgent wants of the party: all that could be done for the horses and mules was to tether them in the most green parts of the parched savanna. The rain continuing with unabated fury throughout the following day, rendered it impossible to move, and as there was more success in procuring supplies, I thought it right to afford the poor animals rest and opportunity of recruiting themselves after their long fast.

The inhabitants of the hut that we occupied were blacks, very civil; and one young fellow, when fairly excited, was sufficiently active in doing what was wanted. The great difficulty consisted in giving the first impulse. By his exertions a tolerable supply of grass was procured, some fowls and eggs, which, with plantains, enabled us to exist until the next day.

May 27th.—Left Savanna Buey without regret, at an early hour. The road winds along the beach of the Bay of Ocoa, which is a fine anchorage. As I passed along it, I almost fancied I saw the spot on which the gallant action was fought by Sir John Duckworth with the French Admiral Seigle on the 6th of February,

1806, in which one of my most esteemed friends served on board the *Canopus*, under the flag of the late Sir Thomas Louis. We also passed through a forest of palm-trees of a large size, but differing from any I had ever seen. The name I have forgotten; but I recollect that the wood is employed in building cottages, and the leaves in the manufacture of hats.

We found shelter at a small hut called "Caracoles," the residence of a "hattero," the son of Spanish parents. He had a wife and two very fine children, all of whom appeared as happy as people in a state of nature could be. He entered freely into conversation, and I found that his wants were few, that he could supply them very amply with very slight exertion, and that his utmost enjoyment was to be employed in the mountains, either hunting wild hogs or the oxen called "bravos." The continuance of the rain, and the exhaustion both of servants and animals in consequence of exposure and privation, led to another day's rest, though the smallness of the accommodation rendered a sojourn by no means desirable. It was therefore a matter of gratification to find that the rain had ceased on the morning of the 28th, when, at an early hour, we took the road to Azua. The road itself is, or rather was,

tolerable—the country uncultivated unto the immediate environs of the town, which we reached about twelve o'clock.

We were very hospitably received by Colonel Bellegarde and his wife, and lodged in the house destined for the officers of the republic on their journeys. It was large and convenient, and with the aid of a few chairs and tables from the commandant's own residence, we were better accommodated than we had been since leaving Santo Domingo. Colonel Bellegarde, who is a man of colour, served with the French army, and went with Rigaud in 1800 to France, whither he had been accompanied by his wife. He informed me that he had remained in that service until 1816, when he and all his countrymen being released from their obligations, they returned to Pétion, who found employment for them in the army of the republic. He had passed through nearly the whole of the revolution, and complained bitterly of the bad faith of General Le Clerc, who twice endeavoured to procure the massacre of the coloured people by exciting suspicion of their fidelity; but in both instances he failed. He had been also on the staff of Leblanc, one of the civil commissioners. There was infinite difficulty in procuring forage during

the early part of the day ; but the peasants, on finding themselves faithfully paid, towards the evening, brought more than was wanted. I found that suspicion of the soldiers, who had been sent in quest of it, had led to the holding back. Indeed one person told me very frankly, that as the military were in the habit of never paying for any thing supplied to them, the country people always pleaded inability to meet their demands. We dined with the commandant, and as the accounts of forage on the road were bad, I determined to allow the animals to indulge during the whole of the 29th. Although I had on all occasions attended as scrupulously as possible to the condition of the cattle, I had been obliged to leave two at Bani, and to engage two at this place to relieve an equal number of their loads.

Incessant rain prevented any examination of the neighbouring country. The town itself was soon reviewed, as it consists of little more than a square, surrounded by paltry buildings of the palm-tree, and three or four narrow streets running out of it. Señor Pablo Baez, a Spanish resident and proprietor, also a member of the chamber of commons, entertained us this day. There was plenty of food seasoned with gar-

lic, and much rude hospitality. During dinner an unfortunate negro girl was grinding one of the most unmusical hand-organs that I ever heard ; still I feel grateful for the intention, though my ears were almost cracked by the attempt at melody.

Having left two more horses at Azua, Señor Baez furnished us with two others, and a very decent guide. We were also joined by two black men, the one an officer and the other a serjeant, who were conveying despatches to the president. We were all put by Colonel Bellegarde under the care of a European Spaniard, who was an officer of the militia cavalry, and was directed to see us safe to San Juan. As this person had been in the country during the invasion by Dessalines, and we passed over the scenes of many of his cruelties, as well as over the spot where the only opposition was made, between the frontier and the city, I naturally expected to have heard some interesting details ; but I soon ascertained that my companion was too drunk to do any thing but prate of his own consequence and the valour of his comrades. He became so troublesome that I was really glad to shake him off. We travelled along the course of the river Tavera, which was very shallow, and breakfasted on its right bank

under the shade of some lofty trees, where there was grass for the horses. As soon as this operation was over, our military guide vanished, although he had been directed to conduct us to San Juan. After my arrival at Port-au-Prince, I received a letter from Colonel Bellegarde inquiring what was the cause of his sudden departure : I told the plain fact, without adding what I might have done on the subject of drunkenness and impertinence.

We were more fortunate in the attendant provided for us by Señor Baez, who knew the country thoroughly, and was civil and attentive. On reaching a pass called the " Puerta," one of the best mules was so exhausted that he was left standing stock-still, and one of the horses laid down and died on the road-side. Pursuing our course, we went to the first ford of the river Neybe, which communicates most directly with San Juan ; but on reaching its left bank, we found that the recent heavy rains had swollen it so as to form a furious torrent, sweeping every thing before it. The floating body of a dead horse excited some apprehensions for a courier who had passed us the preceding day, but fortunately he had escaped.

One of the black officers had indulged too freely in tafia, and had become very much in-

toxicated. He insisted on giving water to the horses, and dragged in one of our exhausted baggage animals, which was instantly carried off his legs ; and before he could be caught, he was nearly killed by exhaustion, and all the clothes in his load were completely soaked through. A second horse was also nearly lost ; indeed both were saved by the activity of Baez's man, whose energies were roused by the fee of seven dollars. We intended to have gone on to a house on the banks of the Little Yaqui, one of the tributary streams of the Neybe ; but the state both of men and horses rendering that design impracticable, we contented ourselves with halting at a miserable shed called Arroyo Salado, not far from the river Mijo. The hut, or rather huts, were wretched ; the only furniture, hides in an undressed state, stretched over a frame, served as a bed, and a place of refuge for fleas and bugs, the stench being almost poisonous. Nothing was to be had except a little milk ; but there was a profusion of wild guinea-fowls in the adjacent woods ; I had, however, no fowling-piece. In such a case expedients readily suggested themselves : some of my pistol-bullets were soon beaten into small slugs, and a rusty musket supplied the place

of a Manton or a Moore. By this means, before dark two of the finest guinea-birds I ever saw were quietly stewing for supper. Every traveller in Haiti should be provided with a fowling-piece, for there is abundance of guinea-fowls, spoonbills, ducks, doves and pigeons in every part of the East, and to them he must very often trust for his supper.

The only lights that could be procured were a sort of cane gathered in the neighbourhood, and which burnt very quickly, giving a very clear light. While sitting by the door, I was attracted to a very picturesque scene: around a table illuminated by one of these torches, stood all the shepherds coagulating milk, which, when prepared, supplied them with a frugal meal, the remains of which were bequeathed to their dogs: the irregular light—the various shades of complexion—the half-clad men—altogether furnished a subject not unworthy of a Rembrandt.

In the course of the evening one of the party, whose resistance of climate had been an object of admiration to many, was attacked with serious symptoms of cholera, which lasted with such severity throughout the night as to excite considerable apprehensions; but the use of weak tea, the only diluent that we had, and a

small quantity of brandy, restored him so much, that by the morning of the following day (the 31st) he was able to mount with the rest of the party.

Before starting, we got intelligence of the large mule, so that I sent for him to await at Arroyo Salado the return of Baez's servant. This being arranged, we travelled about four leagues to the banks of the Little Yaqui, so called in contradistinction to the larger river of the same name, near to St. Iago; but it is, in reality, a very formidable body of water. On reaching the first point that is usually fordable, though narrow, it was too deep, and fully as rapid as the Neybe: we therefore kept still on its left bank; and as I had been detained so much longer on the road, and begun to feel very sensibly the effects of exertion and exposure, I was exceedingly desirous of pushing on, although I was aware that preparation had been made by an opulent "hattero" not far from the river. I sent on, requesting his aid at the ford; and in about an hour he appeared with some assistants and a due supply of ropes, and conducted us safely over the ford, which is broad, and, though not deep, was abundantly strong. The operation was tedious, as it was necessary for the guides to lead each horse se-

parately ; and although there were at least half-a-dozen men so employed, nearly two hours elapsed before the whole party had effected the passage. The road reminded me strongly of a Spanish "Camino Real" in a state of neglect—wide and spacious, but scarcely fit for travelling. I saw no traces of cultivation, but passed a few people on the road : indeed, we met a considerable party at the ford on their way to St. Domingo. I here sustained a grievous loss in such a country and at such a time ; one of my servants was so obliging as to leave my umbrella on the bank of the river.

In an open space, not unlike an English park, with some very fine trees grouped on it, a little to the right of the road, we were conducted to a cottage named Nicaragua, which was occupied by a Spanish woman and her family—she was a widow, and lived in a state of primitive ignorance. After disposing of the animals, I applied myself to the regular inquiry as to what was *producible*. Dona Catalina declared that nothing was to be had for love or money ; but on the withdrawal of the two soldiers, and on my explaining that I should pay for all that I received,—like Moses in the School for Scandal, she had a very good friend

who could meet my wants. In a trice, a turkey, fowls, eggs and vegetables, appeared; and having been duly paid for, the Señora became confidential; and having heard that *general* formed a part of my designation, she had concluded that I must be a military man; and having so concluded, it appeared most likely that I was invading the country—not with the handful of servants that accompanied me, but with a formidable body in my rear. Assuring me that all I reposed in her would be safe, she proceeded to inquire how many Englishmen I had left at Santo Domingo; and when I assured her that there were, to the best of my belief, only two drunken sailors, she was convinced that I was playing on her credulity. Finding that I could not add to her stock of political dreams, she at last contented herself with nodding confidentially at me, winking, and thereby insinuating to her household that there was a perfect understanding between herself and the formidable invader.

The situation of this cottage was precisely such as should be selected as a residence in a warm climate—open country, diversified with large forest trees, and abundance of water at hand. We passed not only the night of the

31st of May, but the best part of the following day, at Nicaragua, allured by the cloudiness of the weather, which enabled us to take the road at noon-tide without risk from the glowing sun. We left Nicaragua in the afternoon—crossed the Mijo—traversed a beautiful country, though little cultivated—and arrived, long before dark, at San Juan. The character of the vegetation differs sensibly from that of the East; the size of the trees is less; the country is more open; and there is considerably less variety of surface.

The commandant of the arrondissement, Colonel Gardel, was absent; so was the commandant of the place, Colonel Herrera; but the town-adjutant very politely furnished us with a house, and put us in communication with bakers, butchers, “*et hoc genus omne*,” who speedily supplied our various wants.

San Juan in days of yore had been a place of note, and contained, as I was told, some convents; but they were all destroyed during the civil contests, though the final blow was given by Dessalines. At present, even the traces of the church are scarcely to be made out; and the town itself reminds one of the accounts given by travellers in India, of the villages ruined by a Pindarrie incursion. There

being little to detain us except the demand for rest, we left San Juan as soon as we could, about mid-day.

Not far from this town are the masses of rock salt near to the town of Neybe, which are so abundant, that it might become an article of great trade. I have some specimens which are equal, if not superior, in purity, to the finest rock salt I have ever seen. At no great distance, too, are the mineral springs of Banique, which I should have gladly visited, had either my leisure or health permitted me to tarry longer on the road.

After leaving the road, we crossed the upper part of the Neybe, which, though narrow, was very impetuous. The valley of San Juan was very beautiful, though scantily cultivated. The rain was heavy, and retarded our progress very much; and before night-fall, having parted from the baggage with one of my own riding horses, which followed like a dog in ordinary cases, to my horror, when in the midst of a thick wood, he bolted off by a cross road, from which I vainly attempted to drive him. At length, after a chase of nearly half an hour, I caught his collar, and dragged him back, as nearly as I could guess, to the road; but night closed so rapidly, that all traces soon vanished;

and I was not a little cheered, after nearly two hours wandering in the dark, to find myself in the village of Lamatta. After that, I had some little difficulty in finding out the commandant of the district, Colonel Gardel. When I did find him he greeted me with much cordiality, and insisted on doing what I attempted to evade by a Spanish embrace—kissing me with three audible salutes: it was a trifle; yet I confess that I was never more completely annoyed by a trifle. At the commandant Lasala's, I found ample and hospitable provision made for all the party; and by the time the baggage had arrived, all the cares and annoyances of the preceding few hours were forgotten. Lasala is a native of Cuba, but had been long established at Lamatta. He was a decent man, apparently attached to his family; but desirous of convincing me that the elements of improvement were innate in the country. He was the only person in the Eastern portion of Haiti that I ever heard declare that he believed it possible to pay the contribution for the French indemnity. He gave some long details of the style of warfare under Dessalines and Christophe; and I can easily imagine that, having no means of subsisting elsewhere, with his family around him, he prefers the evils

that are familiar, to those at which his recollection recoils.

In the course of the evening some officers dropped in, and among others there was the chief of the rural police at a small village called "Rancho Matéo," which it was supposed we should barely be able to overtake the next day, in consequence of the wretched state of the roads, arising from the incessant rains. This person undertook to make every preparation for us, after what was anticipated a very wet ride; and he set out for that purpose. On the morning of the 3d, I took leave of Colonel Gardel and Commandant Lasala in spite of the unceasing rains, which more than fulfilled our worst auguries, and riding through villanous roads overshadowed by magnificent trees, we passed the river Metayaya and arrived at Rancho Matéo, where I expected that our friend of the preceding evening would have been ready to have done the honours. How woefully men sometimes miscalculate on promises! No thorough tried courtier or aspirant underling ever displayed a greater facility of forgetfulness than this rural chief: we could not even gain admission into the house, and with difficulty we found a civil old negro to conduct us to an adjacent hut. The truth we

found to be, that our provider had ordered a good dinner, but that he and a party of his friends had devoured it, and had concluded with getting most gloriously drunk. He was incapable of moving from his seat when I presented myself at the door. However, the place in which we obtained refuge was very decent, and the proprietor, a black woman, made ample amends for the fare that was wanting, by her zeal and civility. The worst of the disappointment was, that the animals were again unprovided with any food, except what was derived from the scanty herbage, and they were obliged to stand without any shelter in a torrent of rain. The mud floors of the cottage were literally flooded, and my hammock was the only safe place of refuge that I could venture into. On the morning of the 4th the rain had ceased, and was succeeded by one of those scorching suns that seem to penetrate into the inmost recesses of the body. We left "Rancho Matéo" for "Las Caobas," and after travelling through a fine line of road, rendered almost impassable by the rain for about a league, I saw a man in uniform on horseback, awaiting our approach like a vidette. On distinguishing his features, I soon recognized our inhospitable volunteer landlord of the

preceding day. Doffing his huge cocked hat, he accosted me by the style and title of admiral. In vain I stopped him, to assure him that I was no admiral: he still persisted, no doubt thinking that, as Englishmen are celebrated as seamen, the greatest compliment that could be paid to any individual Englishman, is to consider him as holding the first rank in the most distinguished profession of his country. Finding it useless to press upon him my want of title to any thing like a naval character, I listened to his oration, in which he pleaded guilty to having been drunk, to having eaten my dinner, and to having acted most atrociously and most inhospitably. I expressed my regret at his vices, and assured him that his apology was so ample as to assuage all the irritation I had experienced. I question much, if my poor animals had been consulted, whether he would have got off so easily. I believe he was dreadfully alarmed at my reporting him to the President, of which I had never thought for one moment. We parted on terms of civility, and I proceeded on the road to "Las Caobas," which we reached, after having crossed the winding river Juan de Vera several times. The country was very much like what I have so often mentioned, rich, luxuriant, and beau-

tiful, but wholly neglected by man. At "Las Caobas" there is nothing remarkable, except its resemblance to a straggling village very familiar to me in Cumberland. Our accommodation and fare were by no means tempting, though Colonel Herrera was most civil; but the prospect of soon terminating my weary pilgrimage enabled me to endure both without difficulty.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure from Las Caobas—Boundary of old colonies—River “Fer de Cheval”—Aqueducts—Mirebalais—Fortifications—River Artibonite—Kind treatment by the commandant, Colonel Charles Jeune—Journey to the capital—Trianon—Mountain pass—Morne Cabrit—Fond au Diable—Plain of Cul de Sac—Arrival at cottage—Occupations—Rumoured insurrection—Trial and execution of four black officers—General observations on Haiti—Illness—Departure for Jamaica.

THE morning of the 5th, which was fair, saw us in motion from “Las Caobas.” The road runs over a mountainous district, which abounds in some of the finest mahogany trees I have yet seen. Were there any means of conveyance to the capital, a very advantageous trade in that beautiful wood might be carried on to a great extent; but at present nothing can be done.

About half a league from the village stands

a military post called Poste Gros Roche, which was formerly one point of the boundary between the two colonies—the fact is stated on the rock, which is also marked 193: an inscription that was unintelligible, not only to myself, but to every person that was asked for a solution.

Lower down, on reaching the valley, we encountered the rapid stream called “Fer de Cheval,” which from the recent rains was rendered nearly impassable. The passage was, however, effected in safety to all, except an unlucky cat belonging to a soldier who had joined our party. To secure his dumb companion, he had put her into a bag with his cap, and slung them over his shoulder; but in the struggle with the torrent, bag, cap, and cat were carried off with resistless force. The country traversed on this day was more free from wood, and consisted of grass-clad downs, on which very large pine-trees flourished, though they were by no means equal to those I had seen on the table lands of Mexico.

Nearer to Mirebalais there are some small plains, which are traversed by admirably arranged aqueducts, for the purpose of irrigation. During the French sway, enormous expense

had been incurred in establishing them ; but now the abandonment of the sugar cultivation, and the non-introduction of any other in its stead, have rendered them useless ; and there being no urgent necessity for attending to them, they are neglected and falling into decay, for which there will be soon no remedy, except at an expense equal to that originally incurred.

At a short distance from the town of Mirebalais, the town opened upon us, with its fortifications, standing on the precipitous bank of the Artibonite, the lower part of which I had passed between Gonaives and St. Mark's. This place has been for some time destined to be the seat of government. A fort has been there erected, a depot of arms and ammunition established, and several buildings have been commenced. The progress, however, is slow ; and more money must circulate in Haiti than there is now, before the new capital can attain perfection. The climate is said to be healthy, and from its elevation the currents of air are less stagnant than in the plains below, rendering the heat, though considerable, infinitely more tolerable. I have remarked that the sensation of oppression from a high temperature within the tropics, is very much modified by the state

of the motion of the atmosphere. If the air circulate freely, almost any heat may be endured ; but if stagnant, exhaustion and inability to exertion are the unavoidable consequences. This fact is well known even in England, but is often overlooked in comparing the absolute heat of tropical regions, the hottest of which is often more healthy and bearable than the coolest. — This apparent anomaly may, in many instances, be explained, by the slowness or rapidity of the evaporation process.

I was debarred from determining the elevation by barometric observations in consequence of the destruction of the tube of my barometer—a loss which, having occurred very early in my journey, interfered with all my intended admeasurements.

Having letters for the General (Benjamin), I repaired to his house, and learned that he was at Port-au-Prince ; but the commandant of the town, Colonel Charles Jeune, treated us with cordiality and kindness. In the course of the day we were joined by several officers from the neighbourhood, one of whom engaged to accompany us the following day to the capital. It struck me as a bad arrangement, that all the forage for the horses was obtained from the

opposite bank of the Artibonite—an operation that cost nearly the whole afternoon.

Mirebalais is well placed as a capital as well as a military position. It is quite protected by a chain of hill-forts towards the plain of Cul de Sac, flanked by a rapid and deep stream, and commanding the most important pass to the north and to the east. There is an air of improvement about it highly creditable to those entrusted with it.

Early on the morning of the 6th we left Mirebalais in the dark, under the guidance of some black officers; and after descending through some ugly passes, we found ourselves at the peep-of-day at “Trianon,” a truly beautiful little spot, once a place of retreat to the half-broiled inhabitants of Port-au-Prince; but now occupied apparently by a few cultivators, who do not much regard the beauty of the scene. Proceeding onwards through “Fond au Diable,” we reached the portion of the road which winds round the side of “Morne Cabrit,” which appears to be composed of a very beautiful compact grey limestone: several hill-forts protect this pass. From this part of the road there is a splendid view of the whole Cul de Sac, which, with the exception of the open space occupied

by the " Croix des Bouquets," appears to be one continuous forest, bounded by the sea, by the lakes, and skirted by the mountain-arm that stretches from the south side of the bay of Port-au-Prince to the district of Neybe ; and at certain breaks a glimpse was caught of the approaches to Arcahai. The plan of the road is good, but rough, and requiring Macadam's aid in an eminent degree. We passed some pieces of artillery waiting by the road-side, I suppose, for amended roads.

After stopping for refreshment at some huts by the way-side, and crossing the Grande Rivière, we arrived, completely knocked up, about five o'clock in the afternoon at my cottage, where I gladly met the gentleman whom I had sent home with despatches in the preceding October ; and the satisfactory assurance that no deaths had happened during my absence. In the evening the melancholy remnant of my horses arrived ; twelve out of twenty-one having been left on the road ; and one died after arrival. My time thenceforward was devoted to official duties preparatory to going home ; and the chief matter to be recorded shall be now told, although it is a melancholy tale.

Very soon after my arrival, rumours prevailed of a dissatisfied spirit being at work, on account of the arrangements with France ; but no overt act occurred, or was said to occur, before my return from my journey. At this time the boldness of the discussions excited the attention of the government, and on the 26th June three black officers were arrested on a charge of having tampered with a soldier, to join them in assassinating the president. The ostensible prime mover of the plan, Captain Bellegrade, also a negro, escaped. In the course of a few days after several arrests took place, and disclosures of importance were reported to have been made as to the extent of the dissatisfaction. The trial of the three accused was first fixed for the 2d July ; but the subsequent arrest of a fourth black officer produced a delay until the 3d of the same month, when the four accused, Captain Jean François, Lieutenant Michel, Lieutenant Lion, and Serjeant Lion Courchois, were brought before a court-martial, consisting of nine members, seven of whom were blacks. The prisoners were charged with conspiring to murder the president, to expel or murder all Europeans, and to alter the government. They denied the intention to murder

the president, or any of the foreigners; but avowed their wish to put an end to the existing system of government, which they treated as oppressive, and to break off all connexion with France—a connexion which they considered to be maintained merely to extort the last of their miserable pittance.

I was not in court, but I was told that this style of defence was soon stopped; nor were the counsel permitted to discuss the inapplicability of the law under which the trial was going on, to the particular cases; or to adduce evidence of their innocence. It was even asserted that, on one of the advocates urging his right to be heard, he was stopped by the president's holding out his watch, and remarking, as he pointed to it, "*le tems presse.*"

The accused were convicted and sentenced to death. They called for a court of revision, which was refused; and in two or three hours the unfortunate men were at the place of execution.

The place of execution is a large open space close to the principal burying-ground, called "*La Cimetiere.*" On my riding there I found a considerable body of people assembled, and some women, clothed in white, close to the

ditch that surrounds the place of interment, uttering wild cries, and exhibiting frantic gesticulations. They were the wives and female relatives of the unhappy convicts.

The ground was guarded by the civic militia, whose apprehensions had been strongly excited by rumours of pillage meditated by the sufferers. A considerable body of troops, said to have been disaffected, remained in quarters, and the artillery, under the command of one of the most devoted of the president's adherents, were drawn up, during the time of the execution, at no very remote distance.

I had not been long on the ground before the bustle announced the approach of the four convicts. Each was tied, by the arms behind his back, to a rope in the hands of a police-soldier, who walked after him ; each too was dressed in a white jacket and trowsers, and smoked a cigar. A strong guard surrounded the whole of the prisoners, and the melancholy procession was closed by the shooting party, which consisted, as well as I can recollect, of about five-and-twenty men.

I shall never forget the firm intrepidity with which these poor fellows advanced to meet their fate. They moved on without the slightest hesi-

tation until they arrived at the fatal spot, close to a dead wall, at the extremity of the open space already referred to. On reaching it they still remained pinioned ; but the policemen retired, and the shooting party advanced with evident reluctance. At the word being given the firing commenced, and instead of the wretched scene being closed by one, or at most two well-directed fires, there was absolutely a succession of discharges resembling a feu-de-joie. I am sure that not less than one hundred discharges must have taken place before the execution was ended. On reaching the ground, the whole four refused to be bandaged, threw off their hats, and exclaimed to their executioners, “ Ne craignez pas ! ” The first volley only slightly wounded Captain François, who stood at the extreme left ; a second brought him down, though still alive. Michel was shot through the body in several places, and had both his arms broken before he fell. Lieutenant Lion fell next, after having been severely wounded. During the whole of this revolting exhibition, Serjeant Lion Courchois was standing on the extreme right of the party, calmly smoking a cigar, without moving a limb or a muscle of his face. A ball through his body brought him to the ground,

and as he touched it, he spat the cigar from his mouth, and calmly discharged the volume of smoke from his lungs. The firing party then advanced, and putting the muzzles of their pieces to the bodies of these unhappy men, ended their sufferings by blowing them literally to pieces. At this part of the exhibition I gladly rode off, for it was the most revolting I had ever witnessed ; and strongly as I felt the disgusting cruelty of the proceeding, I was more strongly impressed with admiration of the cool, resolute, and unpretending intrepidity of these poor fellows, who had no strong stimulus to maintain their energy. They dreamt not of future immortality, nor that a record should ever be made of a firmness and courage which would have done honor to any Roman. Whether admiration for the conduct of the dead, or disbelief of the charges against them operated most, I cannot pretend to say, but there was certainly a general gloom after the execution, such as I never before witnessed in Haiti.

On the 5th, proclamation was made that the individuals executed, instigated by a desire of pillage, had attempted a revolutionary movement, which had been frustrated ; and that all was peace and happiness.

Every friend of humanity must sincerely wish that this may be the case, and that there may be no recurrence to those scenes of slaughter that must for ever disgrace the Haitian annals. Yet there is too much reason to fear that the expectation held out was too sanguine; for since I left the republic, there has been more than one account of tumultuary proceedings, which have, at least in one instance, ended with the death of one or two individuals. Indeed the pressure of the French indemnity is of itself calculated to unsettle the minds of the population. It hangs, like the tyrant's sword, by an invisible hair, and may descend to crush at any moment. France knows, better than I can pretend to do, her own interests; yet I confess that I cannot discover the policy of pressing an improvident arrangement on an impoverished people, scarcely able to support themselves, and thereby keeping up all the ancient recollections of Le Clerc and Rochambeau. The nominal friends of Haiti, in England, France, and the United States, have incurred a fearful responsibility on this point: for what purpose they best know, they have represented the progress of the new republic in the most glowing colours—its increasing prosperity has been so often asserted,

as to expose any one hardy enough to question it, to the certainty of attack and worthless imputation. The necessary consequence has been that conditions have been imposed (as I have no doubt in consequence of the excited expectations of France), that cannot be fulfilled, and even if much reduced, must check the improvement of the country to an indefinite period.

In the preceding Notes I have faithfully recorded my own observations, and such statements as I found worthy of credit, immediately connected with these observations. In the latter portion of my labours, I shall present the result of my researches into the more important topics connected with the country, its government, inhabitants, and resources.

My stay at this time at Port-au-Prince (as the late Mr. Canning had given me leave to return home on account of my health,) would have been very short ; for I felt the gradual approaches of an indescribable something that warned me to go. But there was so much to conclude that it was impossible for me to leave my post with any degree of satisfaction. I had nearly accomplished all that I had planned, on the 7th of July, 1827, when I was attacked by

fever that very nearly closed my career. For seven days I was in a state of delirium, during which period neither my medical attendants, nor any one about me, deemed it possible that I could survive. I was partially paralyzed on the left side, and I could not pronounce articulate sounds. An immense crop of boils burst out on every part of my body, and probably saved my life. There are, I believe, few instances of recovery from so serious an attack of yellow fever, the severity of which was very considerably augmented by the intense bodily and mental exertions I had previously made. My recovery was more rapid than might have been anticipated, for by the 12th of August I had embarked for Jamaica.

During my illness, my brother, two of the vice-consuls, and my excellent friend, Captain Elliot of the *Harlequin*, were also laid up with dangerous sickness; most *cheering* information for Sir John Louis, who had brought up the *Barham* to convey me to Jamaica, as Admiral Fleming had no vessel that he could send direct to Europe.

In His Majesty's ship *Valorous*, under the command of the late Earl of Huntingdon, from Jamaica I visited Cuba, and afterwards the

United States, whence I made my way in the packet-ship *Corinthian* from New York, and landed at Portsmouth, on the 27th of November, after a most boisterous and unsatisfactory passage of twenty-seven days, in a condition that required constant medical treatment for nearly twelve months afterwards.

END OF VOL. I.

